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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

VOLUME FIVE

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The History of Scotland Its Highlands, Regiments and Clans

By
JAMES BROWNE, LL. D.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES
VOLUME V

Francis A. Nicholls & Co.
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CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER I

JACOBITE INTRIGUES AT PARIS

Treaties of Seville and Paris — Disputes in Parliament about reducing the army — Ineffectual attempt to repeal the septennial act — Message from the Crown to augment the forces — Debates — New Parliament — Whig and Tory invectives — Convention of the Prado — Debates in Parliament — Defeat of the Tories, who retire from Parliament — Scheme of Lord-President Forbes for securing the allegiance of the clans — War with Spain — Lord Marischal sent to Madrid by the Chevalier de St. George — Jacobite association in Edinburgh — Drummond of Bochaldy arrives at Rome — Jacobite intrigues at Paris — Death of the Emperor Charles VI — Accession of Maria Theresa — Confederacy against her — Neutrality of Hanover — Meeting of the Hungarian Diet — Speech of the Queen — Austrians ravage Bavaria — Retirement of Walpole — Proposed overtures to the discontented Whigs from the Chevalier de St. George — Drummond of Bochaldy arrives at Edinburgh, and Murray of Broughton at Paris — Plan of a French invasion — Charles, eldest son of the Chevalier de St. George, arrives at Paris — Preparations for invasion — Alarm of the British ministry — Preparations for defence — Sailing of the French fleet — Embarkation and failure of the expedition — Declaration of war between France and England — Arrival of Murray of Broughton at Paris — Interview with the Prince, who resolves to proceed to Scotland 1

CHAPTER II

PRINCE CHARLES LANDS IN SCOTLAND

Warlike attitude of Great Britain and France — Prince Charles Stuart resolves to proceed to Scotland — Secrecy of his preparations — Departure of the Expedition — Naval action — Other occurrences at sea — Charles arrives off the Long Island — Lands in Eriska — Interview between him and Macdonald of Boisdale — Arrives in Lochnagual — Interview with young Clanranald, who is sent on a mission to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod — Kinlochmoidart, Dr. Cameron, and others, visit

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PAGE

the Prince — Charles lands at Borodale — His reception there — Character of Cameron, younger of Lochiel — His interview with the Prince — Charles resolves to raise his standard at Glenfinnin — Arrives at Kinlochmoidart — Commencement of hostilities — Arrival of Charles and the Camerons at Glenfinnin — Raises his Standard — Joined by the Macdonalds of Keppoch 42

CHAPTER III

PROGRESS OF PRINCE CHARLES

Apathy of the Government — Proclamation by the Lords of the Regency — Intelligence of the Prince's arrival received at Edinburgh — Conduct of Macleod of Macleod — Contradictory reports at Edinburgh — Preparations of Sir John Cope — Leaves Edinburgh for Stirling — Marches to the North — Arrives at Dalwhinnie — Holds a council of war — Resolves to march to Inverness — Counter proclamation of Prince Charles — Marches from Glenfinnin — Crosses Corriearrack— Flight of Cope to Inverness — March of Charles to the south — Enters Athole — Arrives at Perth — Joined by Lord George Murray and others — Preparations made by Charles at Perth — Proceedings and alarm at Edinburgh — Association of volunteers formed — Municipal intrigues 80

CHAPTER IV

BATTLE OF PRESTON

Departure of Charles from Perth — Crosses the Forth — Retreat of Gardiner's dragoons — The Prince arrives at Falkirk — Holds a council of war — Detachment sent to attack the dragoons, who retire to Kirkliston — Charles arrives at Corstorphine — Great alarm and confusion in Edinburgh — Mock heroism of the Edinburgh volunteers — Junction of Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons — Joined by the city-guard and Edinburgh regiment — Flight of the dragoons — Meeting of the magistrates and inhabitants of Edinburgh — Message from Prince Charles — Deputations from the city — Arrival of Cope off Dunbar — Capture of Edinburgh by the Highlanders — Arrival of Charles at the palace of Holyrood — The Chevalier de St. George proclaimed at the cross by the heralds — Manifesto of the Prince — Cope lands his troops at Dunbar — Advances to Haddington and afterwards to Preston — Departure of the Prince from Edinburgh — Battle of Preston 112

CHAPTER V

ALARM IN ENGLAND

Return of Charles to Holyrood house — Revulsion in public opinion — Alarm in England — Charles resolves to remain

PAGE

for a time in Edinburgh — Measures to increase his army — Messengers despatched to France, and to the Highlands — Acts of sovereignty exercised by Charles — Council appointed — Blockade of the Castle of Edinburgh — Disorder in the city — Blockade removed — Exertions of Lord President Forbes in the north — Ineffectual attempt to seize him — The Chevalier joined at Edinburgh, by Lord Ogilvy, Gordon of Glenbucket, and Lord Pitsligo — Second manifesto of Prince Charles — Proclamation against robbers — Arrival of supplies from France — Resolution of Charles to march into England — Preparations — Deportment of Charles at Holyrood — Declaration of the Highland army — Preparations of the Government — Riot at Perth on the king's birthday 170

CHAPTER VI

HIGHLAND ARMY IN ENGLAND

Plan of the march of the Highland army into England — Departure of Charles from Holyrood house — Composition of the Highland army — Mode of fighting of the Highlanders — March of the Highland army — It crosses the borders and enters England — Investment and siege of Carlisle — Summoned to surrender — Advance of the Highland army to Brampton — Siege of Carlisle suspended — Resumed — Surrender of Carlisle — Declaration of the Chevalier de St. George for England — Dissension in the Prince's council — Character of Secretary Murray — Resignation of Lord George Murray 217

CHAPTER VII

RETREAT TO SCOTLAND

Inexplicable conduct of Marshal Wade — Charles holds a council of war, which resolves to march south — Departure of the Highland army from Carlisle — Arrives at Manchester — Formation of the Manchester regiment — Departure of the Highland army from Manchester, and arrival at Derby — Alarm at London — Council of war held at Derby — Determination of Charles to march to London — He is overruled by his council, which resolves to retreat — Proposal of Charles to march into Wales also rejected — Extraordinary conduct of Sir Thomas Sheridan, Secretary Murray, and others — Second meeting of the council — Resolution to retreat adhered to — Negotiations of the Chevalier's agents with France — Arrival of Prince Henry, brother of Charles, in France — Treaty of Fontainebleau — French expedition under Lord John Drummond — His arrival and proceedings — Retreat of the Highland army to Scotland — Skirmish at Clifton — Recapture of Carlisle 245

CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLISH ARMY AT EDINBURGH

The Highland army returns to Scotland — The Prince enters Dumfries — Arrival of the army at Glasgow — Proceedings of the Jacobites in the north — Arrest of Lord Lovat, who escapes — Skirmish at Inverury between the Macleods, under the laird of Macleod, and the forces under Lord Lewis Gordon — Disagreement among the Jacobite officers at Perth — Alarm at Edinburgh — Arrival of an English army, under General Hawley, at Edinburgh — Proceedings of the Prince at Glasgow — Marches his army to Bannockburn and Falkirk, and invests Stirling — Surrender of the town — Skirmishing on the Frith of Forth — The Highland army reinforced from the north — Arrival of Hawley's army at Falkirk — Preparations of both armies for battle — Battle of Falkirk 289

CHAPTER IX

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND IN SCOTLAND

Arrival of the Duke of Cumberland at Edinburgh — His march to the west — Siege of Stirling Castle raised — Retreat of the Highlanders to the north — Reasons for the retreat — Council of war held at Crieff by Prince Charles — Arrival of the Duke of Cumberland at Stirling — Crosses the Forth and marches to Perth — Arrival of the Hessian troops at Leith — Charles arrives at Moy Castle — Ineffectual attempt of Lord Loudon to seize him — Rout of Moy — Flight of Lord Loudon from Inverness — Charles enters Inverness and takes the castle — Duke of Cumberland arrives at Aberdeen — Expeditions of the Highlanders, who take Fort Augustus — Expedition against Lord Loudon and dispersion of his forces — Expedition of Lord George Murray into Athole — Duke of Cumberland's advanced detachments take possession of Old Meldrum and Strathbogie — Retreat of the insurgents across the Spey — A party of the royalists surprised at Keith — Loss of the *Prince Charles*, formerly the *Hazard*, sloop-of-war — Siege of Fort William — Its abandonment 334

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Dumbarton Castle	*Frontispiece*
Tartan of the Stewart	40
Tartan of the Macleod	90
Roman Camp at Ardoch	140
Tartan of the Macnaughton	191
Armorial Bearings	240
Tartan of the Murray	290
Tartan of the Macaulay	330

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

VOLUME V

CHAPTER I

JACOBITE INTRIGUES AT PARIS

THE natural desire to preserve his German dominions on the one hand, and a wish to establish himself and his descendants in his newly acquired kingdoms against the designs of the abettors of the house of Stuart on the other, induced George the First to enter into a variety of treaties, and to form many alliances which seemed only calculated to draw Great Britain into every continental dispute, and, as the Jacobites justly looked upon war as the best auxiliary to their schemes, to endanger that very succession which he was so anxious to perpetuate. But although warlike preparations were made on all sides, and partial hostilities committed, the opposing states were averse to war; and after many negotiations, the powers at variance agreed to certain preliminaries, which were signed at Vienna on the thirty-first day of May, 1727, by which it was, *inter alia*, agreed that hostilities should immediately cease; that the charter of the Ostend company, which was injurious to the commerce of England and France, should be suspended for seven years, and that a reference of all disputes should be made to a general congress to be held within four months at Aix-la-Chapelle.

For the convenience of the French minister the congress was transferred to Soissons, where a peace would have been immediately concluded, had not the death of George the First raised new hopes of a Jacobite restoration in the minds of the emperor, Charles the Sixth, and Philip the Fifth of Spain. It has been alleged that these two sovereigns had formerly entered into a secret treaty to restore the Chevalier de St. George to the throne of Great Britain; but no evidence has yet been discovered of its existence, although there are good grounds for supposing that they had in view the expulsion of the house of Hanover. But whatever were the views of Charles and Philip in regard to the restoration of the exiled family at the period in question, their hopes were speedily extinguished by the tranquil succession of George the Second, and the retention of Walpole in the post of prime minister. Thus disappointed in his expectations, the King of Spain acceded to the preliminaries of Vienna, which accession was followed by the treaty of Seville, to which England, France, and Spain, were parties. As this treaty stipulated for the garrisoning of the Italian fortresses by Spanish troops, the suppression of the Ostend company, and revoked the commercial privileges enjoyed by the subjects of the emperor, Charles declined to accede to it, and even threatened to involve Europe in a general war rather than give his assent; but he at length yielded a reluctant compliance, and signed the second treaty of Vienna in March, 1731, by which the general tranquillity of Europe was established.

The nation naturally expected that the restoration of peace would have been followed by a reduction of the standing army; but Walpole had too much penetration not to see the dangers to which the Hanover succession would be exposed, were such a system adopted

under existing circumstances, and he formed his resolution accordingly. In the parliamentary session of 1731, Sir W. Strickland, secretary, having moved that the army should be maintained to the same extent as in the preceding year, Lord Morpeth moved an amendment, that the number should be reduced from eighteen to twelve thousand men, which was supported by Sirs William Wyndham, Watkin Williams Wynne, John Barnard, and others, and Lord Harvey. Sir Robert Walpole, his brother Horace, and Sir Philip York, the attorney-general, afterward Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, argued for the motion. On the part of the ministry it was maintained that the maintenance of such a considerable number of land-forces was necessary to defeat the designs of the disaffected, secure the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it in case of foreign attack, and enable it to take vigorous measures in the event of a general war; that the science of war was so much altered, that little reliance could be placed upon a militia in defending the kingdom from external attacks, and that all nations were obliged, as a security against the encroachments of neighbouring powers, to maintain standing armies; that the number of troops was too trifling to excite the jealousy of the people, even under an ambitious monarch; that the idea of infringing the liberties of his subjects had never entered into his Majesty's thoughts; that it could not be supposed that the officers, among whom were many gentlemen of family and fortune, would ever concur in a design to enslave their country; and that as the forces, now in pay, were annually voted and maintained by the Parliament, the representative of the people, they could not properly be deemed a standing army. On the part of the Tories or opposition, it was argued that a standing force in time of peace was unconstitutional, and had

been always considered dangerous; that a militia could be as well disciplined as a standing army, and that the former had stronger motives to incite them to courage and perseverance than hired mercenaries; that the internal peace of the country could be sufficiently preserved by the civil power; that the number of the disaffected, which was now quite contemptible, might be considerably increased, if a standing army were kept up, and other arbitrary measures pursued; that although other nations had had recourse to standing armies for protection against neighbouring states, they had enslaved the nations they were destined to protect; but that Great Britain, from her insular situation, had no need of such doubtful protection; that this situation was strengthened by a numerous navy which had given her the dominion of the sea; and that if this force was properly disposed, every attempt at invasion would be rendered, if not altogether impracticable, at least ineffectual; that the army, though sufficiently numerous to endanger the liberties of the people, could be of very little service, from the great extent of coast, in preventing an invasion; that although they did not question his Majesty's regard for the liberties of his subjects, they were apprehensive, that should a standing army be engrafted upon the constitution, another prince of very different dispositions might afterward arise, who would not stickle to employ the army to subvert the constitution; and though many of the officers were gentlemen of property and honour, they might be discarded, and others of more pliant dispositions substituted in their places; that with regard to the argument that the army was wholly dependent on the Parliament, it was sufficiently answered by the fact, that an army had formerly turned their swords against the Parliament, for whose defence they had been raised, and had over-

turned the constitution both in church and state; that independent of this, the hardship to the people of England would be equally the same whether a standing army should be at once declared indispensable, or regularly voted from year to year according to the pleasure of the ministry; that the sanction of the legislature to measures unconstitutional in themselves, and repugnant to the genius of the people, instead of yielding satisfaction, would serve only to demonstrate that ministerial influence operating upon a venal parliament, was the most effectual way to forge the chains of national slavery. In addition to these reasons, the opposition urged the reduction of the standing army as a necessary consequence of a declaration made by his Majesty, that the peace of Europe was established, and that he had nothing so much at heart as the ease and prosperity of his people; and it was argued, that if eighteen thousand men were sufficient on the supposed eve of a general war, a less number would certainly suffice when peace was perfectly restored. All these arguments, however, against an undiminished standing army were quite ineffectual, and the motion was carried by a large majority. A similar result took place in the upper house.

Next session the opposition resumed the subject, and urged their arguments for a reduction of the standing army with such vehemence, that the ministry found themselves obliged to have recourse to the old bugbears of popery and the pretender, to obtain an acquiescence in their measures. By insisting, as Sir Robert Walpole did, that the chief thing desired by the Jacobites was a reduction of the army; that no reduction had ever been made but what gave them fresh hopes, and encouraged them to raise tumults against the government; and that the anxiety of the Jacobite party was

so notorious, that if a reduction was made, they would send off an express by post-horses that very night to the pretender, he again carried his point. But these defeats only stimulated the Tories to fresh opposition. Walpole had made himself odious in the eyes of the nation by proposing his celebrated excise scheme, which he was obliged to abandon from deference to public opinion, and a regard to his own personal safety. To keep up the odium against him, the opposition are said to have spread a report that he intended to revive his hated scheme in the session of 1734; but on his declaring that he had no such intention, they resorted to other plans to get him displaced. Besides the Tories, there was a party of disappointed Whigs headed by Mr. William Pulteney, who joined in the opposition. Pulteney had distinguished himself by his opposition to the Oxford administration, and on the accession of the house of Hanover was made secretary of state. When Walpole retired from office he also resigned; but as Walpole did not procure for him the situation he expected on the return of that minister to power, he broke with him. He, however, afterward accepted the appointment of cofferer of the household; but, on a fresh disagreement, he was dismissed from office, and, from that time forward, became the leader of the discontented Whigs. Among other plans which the opposition now resorted to was the repeal of the septennial act, a measure which the Tories and Jacobites had long desired; but as Pulteney and his Whig friends had promoted the act, they were reluctant to hazard their consistency by concurring in any measure for its repeal, in consequence of which the question had been delayed. That reluctance, however, being now overcome, a motion was made by Mr. Bromley in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the

septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments. The principal speaker in support of the motion was Sir William Wyndham, who, in a speech of great boldness, displayed the rancour of the opposition in the following revolting portrait which he drew of Walpole in the character of a supposed minister: —

" Let us suppose a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, of no great family, and but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state by the concurrence of many whimsical events, — afraid, or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making, — lost to all sense of shame and reputation, — ignorant of his country's true interest, — pursuing no aim but that of aggrandizing himself and his favourites, — in foreign affairs trusting none but those who, from the nature of their education, cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation, by such means, neglected or misunderstood, — her honour tarnished, — her importance lost, — her trade insulted, — her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered, and all these circumstances overlooked, lest his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of immense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are bought at the expense of the public treasure. In such a parliament, suppose all attempts made to inquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress which has been entailed upon it by his administration. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest by distributing among them those posts and places which ought never

to have been bestowed upon any but for the good of the public. Let him plume himself upon his scandalous victory, because he has obtained a parliament like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all the men of ancient families, over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy and corrupt it in all. I am still not prophesying; I am only supposing, and the case I am going to suppose I hope will never happen; but with such a minister and such a parliament, let us suppose a prince upon the throne, either for want of true information, or for some other reason unacquainted with the inclinations and interest of his people, weak and hurried away by unbounded ambition and insatiable avarice. This case has never happened in this nation; I hope, I say, it will never exist. But as it is possible it may, could there any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince on the throne; advised, and solely advised by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws. The existence of such a prince, or such a minister, we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament I think we may; and as such a parliament is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief, while the septennial law remains in force, than if it were repealed; therefore, I most heartily wish for the repeal of it."

This virulent invective, which was levelled as much at the king as the minister, was answered by Walpole in a corresponding tone, and the motion was negatived by a great majority. Emboldened by this success, Walpole, about the end of the session, and after a considerable number of the opposition members had re-

tired to their homes in the country, delivered a message from the crown, expressing a desire that his Majesty might be empowered to augment his forces, if occasion should require, between the dissolution of Parliament, then about to take place, and the election of another. A motion for taking the message into consideration, though warmly opposed in the House of Commons, was carried, and an address presented to the king signifying compliance. Considerable opposition was also made in the House of Peers with as little effect as in the Commons. The ministerial influence was in fact too powerful to be resisted with any probability of success. In particular, the minister, by a proper distribution of places among the Scottish members and their friends, had almost the whole of them at his nod; and, accordingly, a very large majority of the Scottish representatives were always to be found swelling the ministerial majorities. To prevent the influence of the minister extending itself to the elections in North Britain, motions were successively brought forward in the House of Peers by the Earl of Marchmont and the Duke of Bedford, which were supported by the Earls of Chesterfield, Winchelsea, and Stair, and other peers. Both motions were opposed by the Dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, and were of course negatived. To revenge himself against Stair, who had always served the government with fidelity and zeal, Walpole deprived him of his regiment; and several other peers, who had opposed the excise scheme, which he was forced to abandon, were also dismissed from their employments.

The elections for the new Parliament were warmly contested, but ministerial influence preponderated. The Parliament met on the fourteenth of January, 1735. A division took place upon the address, which showed the relative strength of both parties, 265 having voted

for the address, and 185 against it. The session was not distinguished by any remarkable occurrence, except some proceedings in the House of Peers, in relation to matters contained in a petition presented to the house, signed by the Dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the Earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, in which it was stated that undue influence had been used, in the election of the sixteen Scottish representative peers. The house fixed a day for taking the petition into consideration; but they afterward resolved to adjourn the consideration of it to a short day, before which the petitioners were ordered to declare whether they intended to dispute the election of all the sixteen peers, or only the election of some, and which of them. The petitioners declared that they did not intend to controvert the election of the sixteen peers; but they considered it their duty to offer evidence, that undue methods had been used to influence the election, which were dangerous to the constitution, and which might, if not prevented in future, equally affect the rights of the elected peers, as those of the other peers of Scotland. The petitioners were next, after a warm debate, ordered to lay before the house a written statement, detailing the instances of the undue practices and illegal methods they alleged, and upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the persons they suspected to be guilty. The petitioners, thereupon, represented to the house, that as they had no intention to appear as accusers, they could not take upon them to name particular persons who might have been implicated in those illegal practices, but that their lordships, on taking the proper examinations, would discover them. They, however, averred, from the information they had received, that the list of the sixteen Scottish representative peers had been made out previous to the election, by persons

high in trust under the crown; that this list was shown to peers as one approved of by the crown, was in consequence called the king's list, from which, except in one or two instances of peers who were expected to conform, there was to be no variation; that peers were solicited to vote for this list without alteration; that attempts were made to engage peers to vote for this list by promising them pensions, etc.; that sums of money were given for this purpose; and that pensions, offices, and discharges of crown debts were actually granted to peers who voted for this list, and to their relations; and that on the day of election, a body of troops was drawn up in the Abbey court of Edinburgh, for no other purpose, it would appear, than of overawing the electors. This explanation was deemed unsatisfactory, and the petition was rejected; but the allegations which it contained were not without foundation.

During the two following sessions, the opposition, overwhelmed by the weight of ministerial influence, made a feeble resistance; but in the session of 1738, they endeavoured to excite a warlike feeling against Spain, on account of the dissensions on the subject of Spanish commerce; and to embarrass the ministry at the same time, they insisted, though certainly at the expense of their consistency, to reduce the army from 17,400, to twelve thousand men. Although Walpole might have urged the danger of a war with Spain, into which the opposition was attempting to embroil the nation, as a pretence for keeping up the army, he did not avail himself of such a line of argument, but openly declared that even if the government had no other enemies than the pretender, and the disaffected part of the king's subjects, the danger from these was a sufficient reason for keeping up the army. An attempt was made to turn the fears of the minister into

ridicule; but he maintained that danger did exist, and in an energetic speech, drew a portrait of a true Jacobite, which many who heard him could not fail to observe was intended as a representation of themselves.

"I am sorry to see, sir (he observed), that this is a sort of fear, which many amongst us endeavour to turn into ridicule; and for that purpose they tell us that though many of our subjects are discontented and uneasy, very few are disaffected. I must beg leave to be of a different opinion; for I believe most of the discontents and uneasinesses that appear among the people, proceed originally from disaffection. No man of common prudence will profess himself openly a Jacobite. By so doing he may not only injure his private fortune, but he must render himself less able to serve effectually the cause he has embraced. Your right Jacobite, sir, disguises his true sentiments. He roars out for revolution principles; he pretends to be a great friend to liberty, and a great admirer of our ancient constitution; and under this pretence there are numbers, who every day endeavour to sow discontents among the people, by persuading them that the constitution is in danger, and that they are unnecessarily loaded with many and heavy taxes. These men know that discontent and disaffection are like wit and madness, separated by thin partitions; and therefore they hope, if they can once render the people thoroughly discontented, it will be easy for them to render them disaffected. These are the men whom we have most reason to fear. They are, I am afraid, more numerous than most gentlemen imagine; and I wish I could not say, they have been lately joined, and very much assisted by some gentlemen, who, I am convinced, have always been, and still are, very sincere and true friends to our present happy establishment."

Sir John Hynde Cotton, a concealed Jacobite, stung by this reproach, thus retorted upon the Whigs.

"I do own it gives me a good deal of surprise to hear gentlemen who act upon revolution principles, talk in a manner so utterly at variance with the language of Whigs in former times. Sir, I know not what Whigs the honourable gentlemen has been acquainted with; but I have had the honour and happiness to be intimate with many gentlemen of that denomination. I have likewise, sir, read the writings of many authors who have espoused those principles; I have sat in this house during the most material debates that have happened between them and the Tories; and I can declare from my own experience, that I never knew one who acted on true Whig principles, vote for a standing army in time of peace. What the principles of the Whigs in former days were, I can only learn from reading or information. But I have heard of Whigs who were against all unlimited votes of credit. I have heard of Whigs who looked upon corruption to be the greatest curse that could befall any nation. I have heard of Whigs who esteemed the liberty of the press to be the most valuable privilege of a free people, and triennial parliaments to be the greatest bulwark of their liberties; and I have heard of a Whig administration who have resented injuries done to the trade of the nation, and have revenged insults offered to the British flag. These, sir, are the principles, if I am rightly informed, that once characterized the true Whigs. Let gentlemen apply these characters to their present conduct; and then, laying their hands upon their hearts, let them ask themselves if they are Whigs."

As Walpole was extremely desirous to avoid a rupture with Spain, a convention with that power was concluded at the Prado, on the fourteenth day of January,

1739, by which it was agreed, that within six weeks from the day on which the ratifications should be exchanged, two plenipotentiaries should meet at Madrid, to confer and finally regulate the respective pretensions of both crowns, as to the trade and navigation in Europe and America, and other disputed points; and that his Catholic Majesty should pay a certain sum in satisfaction of the demands of British subjects upon the crown of Spain, subject, however, to deduction of demands made by the crown and subjects of Spain. At opening the session on the first of February, the king, in his speech to both houses, alluded to the convention; but he abstained from stating the nature of its provisions, farther than that the King of Spain had obliged himself to make reparation for the losses sustained by British subjects, from the depredations of Spain. When the terms of the convention became generally known, a cry of indignation was raised against the minister, who, it was alleged, had sacrificed the honour of the country to the unjust and domineering pretensions of Spain.

Backed by the general voice of the nation, the opposition again prepared themselves to combat the ministerial phalanx. They first tried their strength in several preliminary motions for the production of certain papers connected with the disputes on the Spanish question, in which they were unsuccessful; but they made their great effort on the ninth of March, when an address approving of the convention was moved. Before the day appointed for taking the convention into consideration, petitions had been presented to the House of Commons by merchants, planters, and others, trading to America, by the cities of London and Bristol, the merchants of Liverpool, and the owners of some vessels which had been seized by the Spaniards. In these petitions it was stated that Spain, by the convention, was

so far from giving up the unjustifiable practice of searching British ships, trading to and from the British plantations, that she appeared to have claimed the power of doing it as a right, seeing that, although the differences arising out of it were to be referred to plenipotentiaries, Spain had not even agreed to abstain from the practice, during the time that the discussion of this affair might last. These petitions, which prayed that the petitioners might be heard against that part of the convention which seemed to recognize the right of search on the part of Spain, were referred to the committee appointed to consider the convention; but a petition from the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, praying to be heard by counsel, against a clause in the convention, for regulating the limits of Carolina and Florida, experienced a different fate, having been rejected on a division.

The day for considering the convention having arrived, so desirous were the Commons to be at their posts, that by eight o'clock in the morning four hundred members had taken their seats. The address was moved by Mr. H. Walpole, who lauded the convention, urged the inducements which Great Britain had to cultivate peace, the dangers of war, and the designs of the pretender. Mr. Lyttelton, in an animated speech, endeavoured to turn the argument thus addressed to the fears of the audience to his own advantage. "After he (Walpole) had used many arguments to persuade us to peace, to any peace, good or bad, by pointing out the dangers of a war, dangers I by no means allow to be such as he represents them, he crowned all those terrors with the name of the pretender. It would be the cause of the pretender. The pretender would come. Is the honourable gentleman sensible what this language imports? The people of England complain of the greatest wrongs

and indignities; they complain of the interruption, the destruction of their trade; they think the peace has left them in a worse condition than before; and in answer to all these complaints what are they told? Why, that their continuing to suffer all this is the price they must pay to keep the king and his family on the throne of these realms. If this were true it ought not to be owned; but it is far from truth; the very reverse is true. Nothing can weaken the family; nothing can shake the establishment but such measures as these, and such language as this." In vindication of the convention, the ministry maintained that Spain had granted satisfaction adequate to the injury received; that all causes of complaint would be removed by a treaty of which the convention was merely a preliminary; that war, which was uncertain in its events, was always expensive and injurious to a commercial country; that in the event of a rupture, France and Spain would unite against Great Britain; that she had no ally on whom she could depend for effectual aid; and that war would favour the designs of the disaffected to restore the exiled family. Notwithstanding the force of these arguments, the ministry made a narrow escape, the address being carried by a majority of twenty-eight votes only in a house of 492 members.

Such a result, instead of encouraging the opposition to perseverance, filled them with dismay, and they resolved to discontinue their attendance in Parliament. "The secession," as this extraordinary step was termed, was immediately after the division notified to the house by Sir William Wyndham in a speech of great pathos and solemnity. After a pathetic remonstrance against the resolutions to which the house had come, he called the majority a faction which had arraigned itself against the liberties of the nation, and thus concluded his ha-

rangue. "I here, Sir, bid a final adieu to this house. Perhaps when another Parliament shall succeed I may be again at liberty to serve my country in the same capacity; I therefore appeal, Sir, to a future, free, uninfluenced House of Commons. In the meantime, I shall conclude with doing that duty to my country I am still at liberty to perform, which is, to pray for its preservation. May therefore that Power which has so often and so visibly interposed in behalf of the rights and liberties of this nation continue its care over us at this worst and most dangerous juncture, when the insolence of enemies without, and the influence of corruption within, threaten the ruin of her constitution!" Sir Robert Walpole, in a reply, which has been characterized by Lord Chatham as one of the finest he ever heard, poured out a torrent of personal abuse upon Wyndham, unparalleled in the history of parliamentary vituperation. He denounced Sir William as the head of those traitors who for twenty-five years had conspired to destroy their country and the royal family, in order to restore a popish pretender, and who, in return for the clemency he had experienced at the hands of the government after his apprehension, had ungratefully abused that clemency by heading a party whose object was to overthrow all law.

As it was easy to perceive that a rupture with Spain was almost inevitable, and as such an event would resuscitate the hopes and favour the designs of the Chevalier de St. George and his abettors, it became the duty of the government to provide against any new attempts to stir up a civil war in the kingdom. The Highlands of Scotland were the quarter whence the greatest danger was to be apprehended, not more on account of the nature of the country, which was favourable to a prolonged warfare, than of the attachment of the greater number

of the chiefs to the house of Stuart. It was obvious, that in proportion as that attachment was weakened, the interests of the house of Hanover were strengthened; yet strange to say, the government had devised no plan for detaching the Highland chiefs and their dependents from the fortunes of the exiled family. It was reserved for Lord President Forbes, a man not less distinguished for patriotism than political wisdom, to discover a plan for securing the allegiance of the clans by engaging them in the service of the government, a scheme which, if acted upon, would have saved the kingdom from the horrors of civil war, and preserved many worthy families from ruin.

Before communicating his plan to the government, Lord President Forbes resolved to consult his friend Lord Milton, then lord-justice-clerk, upon the subject. One morning in the end of autumn, 1738, he visited Lord Milton at his house at Brunstane before breakfast. Surprised at receiving such an early call, Milton asked him what was the matter. "A matter," replied the president, "which I hope you will think of some importance. You know very well that I am, like you, a Whig; but I am also the neighbour and friend of the Highlanders, and intimately acquainted with most of their chiefs. For some time I have been revolving in my mind different schemes for reconciling the Highlanders to government; now I think the time is come to bring forward a scheme which, in my opinion, will certainly have that effect. A war with Spain seems near at hand, which, it is probable, will soon be followed by a war with France, and there will be occasion for more troops than the present standing army. In that event, I propose that government should raise four or five regiments of Highlanders, appointing an English or Scottish officer of undoubted loyalty to be colonel

of each regiment; and naming the lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns, from this list in my hand, which comprehends all the chiefs and chieftains of the disaffected clans, who are the very persons whom France and Spain will call upon, in case of a war, to take arms for the pretender. If government pre-engages the Highlanders in the manner I propose, they will not only serve well against the enemy abroad, but will be hostages for the good behaviour of their relations at home; and I am persuaded that it will be absolutely impossible to raise a rebellion in the Highlands. I have come *here* to show you this plan, and to entreat, if you approve it, that you will recommend it to your friend Lord Ilay, who, I am told, is to be here to-day or to-morrow on his way to London." "I will most certainly," said Milton, "show the plan to Lord Ilay; but I need not recommend it to him, for, if I am not mistaken, it will recommend itself."

The Earl of Ilay having arrived at Brunstane next day, Lord Milton showed him the president's plan, with which he expressed himself very well pleased. The earl carried it to London with him, and presented it to Sir Robert Walpole, who, on reading the preamble, at once declared that it was the most sensible scheme he had ever seen, and stated his surprise that nobody had thought of it before. Walpole then laid the plan before a meeting of the cabinet summoned for the purpose of considering it, at which he expressed his approbation of it in the strongest terms, and recommended it as a measure which ought to be carried into immediate execution, as a war with Spain might soon take place. Singularly enough, every member of the cabinet, with the exception of Sir Robert himself, declared against the measure. They assured him, notwithstanding his strong recommendations of it, that for his own sake

they could not agree to it, because if government should adopt the plan of the Scots judge, the patriots (as the opposition was called) would denounce Sir Robert as a person who intended to subvert the constitution, by raising an army of Highlanders to join the standing army and enslave the people of England. The plan was, therefore, abandoned, and about a year after its rejection Great Britain declared war against Spain.

Notwithstanding the convention, the differences between Great Britain and Spain remained unadjusted, and in the following year, as before stated, war was openly declared against Spain. The opposition, therefore, returned to their seats, a measure which they justified by the declaration of war against Spain, every assertion against the encroachments of Spain contained in the declaration being, as they alleged, almost similar in expression to those used by the opposition against the convention.

As soon as the Chevalier de St. George received intelligence of the war with Spain, he despatched Lord Marischal to Madrid to induce the court of Spain to adopt measures for his restoration. But however willing Spain might be to assist him, he was desirous that no attempt should be made without the concurrence of France. About the same time, that is, in the beginning of the year 1740, some of the more zealous and leading Jacobites, in anticipation of a war with France, held a meeting at Edinburgh, and formed themselves into an association, by which they engaged themselves to take arms and venture their lives and fortunes to restore the family of Stuart, provided the King of France would send over a body of troops to their assistance. By a singular coincidence, this association, like that which brought over King William to England, consisted of seven persons, viz., Lord Lovat,

James Drummond, commonly called Duke of Perth, the Earl of Traquair, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Cameron of Lochiel, John Stuart, brother to Lord Traquair, and Lord John Drummond, uncle to the Duke of Perth. The conspirators despatched Drummond of Bochaldy, or Balhady (nephew to Lochiel), to Rome with the bond of association, and a list of those chiefs and chieftains who were considered by the associates to be favourable to the cause. Drummond was instructed to deliver these papers into the hands of the Chevalier de St. George, and to entreat him to procure assistance from France in furtherance of their design. The project was well received by James, who, after perusing the papers, forwarded them immediately by the same messenger to Cardinal Fleury at Paris, with a request that the court of France would grant the required assistance. But the cardinal, with that caution which distinguished him, would come under no engagement, but contented himself at first by a general assurance of conditional support.

The negotiation was, however, persevered in, but the death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, which happened on the twentieth of October, 1740, drew off the cardinal's attention to matters which appeared to him of greater importance. The emperor was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, married to the grand-duke of Tuscany, formerly Duke of Lorraine. Though this princess succeeded under the title of the pragmatic sanction, which had been guaranteed by England, France, Spain, Prussia, Russia, Holland, and the whole of the Germanic body, with the exception of the elector-palatine, and the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, a powerful confederacy was formed against her by almost all these powers, to strip her of her dominions. Maria Theresa at first

looked to France for support; and in expectation of receiving it, declined a proposal made by Great Britain and Holland to form a grand confederacy against the house of Bourbon; but France, regardless of her engagements, joined the confederacy with the view of crushing the house of Austria. The King of Prussia modestly demanded from Maria Theresa the whole of Silesia; and, upon being refused, entered that province about the end of December at the head of an army. He entered Breslau, the capital, and took all the fortresses except Brieg and Neiss. In April, 1741, he defeated the Austrians at Molwitz, and thus became master of the whole of Silesia.

Alarmed at the formidable confederacy formed against her, the Queen of Hungary applied to Great Britain for succour; but Sir Robert Walpole evaded the demand, and recommended an immediate peace with Prussia. The Parliament, as well as the nation, however, had different views; and as the minister saw that he would be compelled to fulfil his engagements to the house of Austria, Parliament was called upon to support the Queen of Hungary, and maintain the liberties of Europe. The Commons cheerfully voted a sum of £300,000 to enable George the Second to fulfil his engagements, which sum was remitted to the Queen of Hungary, and the contingent of twelve thousand Danish and Hessian troops, which Great Britain had engaged to furnish, was got in readiness. Meanwhile the court of France concluded an offensive alliance with the Elector of Bavaria, by which she engaged to send forty thousand men to join the elector, and another army of equal force to keep the Elector of Hanover and the United Provinces in check. A treaty was entered into about the same time between Prussia and France. This was again followed by a treaty to a similar effect between

the King of Prussia and the Elector of Bavaria, by which Silesia was guaranteed to Prussia; Upper Austria, the Tyrol, Brisgau, and Bohemia to Bavaria. By offering Moravia to the Elector of Saxony, he was induced to enter into the alliance, and signed a treaty with France. By enriching Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria (the three rival powers which disputed the dominion of Germany with the house of Austria) with her spoils, France expected to raise them to an equality with Austria, and prevent her from ever again asserting the dominion of the empire. Spain also prepared to attack the Austrian possessions in Italy, and the King of Sardinia armed for the same purpose.

To counteract the efforts of the Elector of Hanover in favour of Maria Theresa, a French army under Marshal Maillebois marched into Westphalia, and threatened the electorate. George the Second, without the knowledge of his minister, meanly proposed a neutrality for his German dominions, and a treaty was accordingly signed by the French and Hanoverian ministers; but Lord Harrington, the British minister, refused to put his name to a document which Parliament, he was aware, would not have sanctioned. While the army under Marshal Maillebois kept Hanover in check, another French army joined the Elector of Bavaria, whom the French court had engaged to raise to the imperial dignity. The elector marched towards Vienna, and his cavalry arrived within a few miles of the capital; but Fleury, jealous of the Elector of Saxony, induced the elector, by means of his agents, to draw off his army towards Bohemia, lest the Saxons should make themselves masters thereof. Frederick of Prussia had indeed strongly urged the elector to advance, and observed that " the Romans could be conquered nowhere

but at Rome;" but the elector, more disposed to follow the advice of the French minister, entered Bohemia and laid siege to Prague, — a movement which preserved the capital and saved the house of Austria from ruin.

While thus threatened with destruction by the combined attacks of France, Spain, Prussia, Saxony, Poland, and Bavaria, Maria Theresa displayed a firmness of soul worthy of her race and the justice of her cause. Refusing to purchase peace at the expense of any portion of her hereditary dominions, she resolved to appeal to the sympathy and affection of her Hungarian subjects against the perfidy of her assailants. She was crowned at Presburg in the month of June, 1741, amid the acclamations of a loyal and devoted people; and, in September following, she met the assembled diet in the same place. Her appearance on this occasion harmonized with the object in view. Clad in deep mourning, the crown of St. Stephen on her head, and a cimeter at her side, she entered the hall and ascended the tribune. Every eye was fixed upon her, and every heart beat with emotions of loyalty and respect. Her youth, her beauty, her graceful charms, the dignity of her deportment, her unbending integrity in defending the lawful possessions of her house, the appeal which, as the heiress of a long line of monarchs, she was about to make for protection against her enemies, — all tended to rouse the national feeling in her favour.

After an explanation from the chancellor of the cause for which the diet had been assembled, Maria Theresa addressed the deputies in a Latin speech: — "The afflicted state of our affairs moves us to inform our faithful subjects of Hungary of the invasion of Austria, and the peril of this kingdom. It will be for you to consider of the remedy. This kingdom, — our person, —

our children are at stake. Abandoned by all, we have no resource but the fidelity of the states of Hungary, and the ancient valour of the Hungarian people. We exhort the states and orders to consult on the imminent danger of our person, our children, our crown, and kingdom; and to give instant effect to their resolves. For our parts, every order and class in the kingdom may be assured that the pristine happiness of the country, and glory of the Hungarian name, shall be the object of our dearest care and affection." No sooner had the queen finished her speech, than the deputies, with spontaneous accord, drew their swords almost from the scabbard, and driving them back to the hilt, exclaimed, " Moriamur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresa!" — We will die for our king, Maria Theresa! The queen, unable to repress her emotions, burst into tears of joy and gratitude. The states instantly voted large supplies of money and troops, and in a few weeks a large army was collected and formed.

In the month of November the Duke of Lorraine entered Bohemia at the head of sixty thousand men, to relieve Prague; but it surrendered to the French and Bavarian troops before he could reach it. He thereupon divided his troops into three divisions; the command of one was given to Khevenhuller, the ablest of the Austrian commanders. To keep up his communication with his own country, the Elector of Bavaria had posted twenty thousand men in different places. These posts were attacked separately, and with the most complete success, by Khevenhuller, who entered Bavaria in the month of December, preceded by large bodies of irregular cavalry, known by the name of Croats, Pandours, and Tolfaches, who carried havoc wherever they went.

While the flames of war were thus spreading over

Europe, the situation of the British ministry was every day becoming more critical from the clamours of the Tories and the discontented Whigs. Walpole had triumphed in both houses on motions for an address to the king to dismiss him from his presence and councils; but his triumph was short, and the approach of an election redoubled the efforts of his enemies. Though the Jacobites required no incentive to induce them to assist in displacing a minister who had been the chief obstacle to the restoration of the exiled family, yet to make perfectly sure of their aid, Lord Chesterfield went to France, and by means of the Duke of Ormond, obtained, it is said, a circular letter from the Chevalier de St. George to his friends, urging them to do everything in their power to ruin Walpole. To encourage the popular clamour against the minister, reports, the most absurd and incredible respecting him, were circulated among the people and believed; and while the general discontent was at its height, the elections commenced. The contests between the two parties were extremely violent; but the country party, backed by the adherents of the Prince of Wales, who had formed a party against the minister, prevailed. So powerful was the influence of the Duke of Argyle, who had lately joined the opposition, that out of the forty-five members returned for Scotland, the friends of the ministry could not secure above six. The new Parliament met on the fourth of December, 1741; and Walpole, no longer able to contend with the forces arrayed against him, retired from office within a few weeks thereafter.

Encouraged by appearances, and imagining that some of the old discontented Whigs who deprecated the system which had been pursued since the accession of the house of Hanover, of maintaining the foreign dominions of the sovereign at the expense, as they

thought, of the honour and interests of the nation, Drummond of Bochaldy proposed to the Chevalier to visit England, and make overtures in his name to the "old Whigs." This plan was highly approved of by James, who wrote him a letter in his own hand, which was intended to be exhibited to such persons as might seem inclined to favour his restoration. This letter was enclosed in a private letter containing instructions for the regulation of his conduct in the proposed negotiation, which, it was intended should be kept an entire secret from the Jacobites, both in England and Scotland. Erskine of Grange, who enjoyed the confidence of some of the discontented Whigs, and who privately favoured the designs of the exiled family, was pitched upon as a fit person to make advances to the old Whigs.

In pursuance of his instructions, Drummond departed for England about the beginning of the year 1742, but it does not appear that at this time he entered upon the subject of his mission. He came privately to Edinburgh in the month of February, same year, and there met some of the persons who had entered into the association, and several others, who, in conjunction with the original conspirators, had formed themselves into a society, denominated by them "the Concert of Gentlemen for managing the king's affairs in Scotland." To these, among whom was Murray of Broughton, Drummond represented that, on his return from Rome, he had been extremely well received by Cardinal Fleury, to whom he had delivered the papers which he had carried from Edinburgh; that the cardinal expressed great satisfaction with the contents of these papers, had the pretender's interest so much at heart, and was so sanguine of his success, that provided he had sufficient assurances from the friends of the exiled family in

England, that they would assist in the restoration of the Stuarts, he would send over an army of from thirteen to fifteen thousand men, the number required; a division of which, consisting of fifteen hundred men, was to be landed on the east coast of Scotland, at or near Inverness; another of a similar amount in the west Highlands of Scotland; and the main body, which was to consist of ten or twelve thousand men, was to be landed as near London as possible. He added, that, provided assistance could be obtained in England, the projected invasion might be put in execution the following autumn. Before leaving Edinburgh Drummond had an interview with Cameron of Lochiel, who came to town at his desire, and to whom he communicated the result of his mission to Rome and Paris.

After a short stay at Edinburgh, Drummond returned to Paris, where, according to his own account, as communicated in letters to Lord Traquair and Lochiel, he had an audience of the cardinal, to whom he represented matters in such a favourable light that he promised to carry his design of invasion into effect in a very short time. The French minister, however, though he really seems to have seriously contemplated such a step, was not yet in a condition to come to an open rupture with England; and to postpone the enterprise, he proposed to Drummond that an application should be made to Sweden for a body of troops to invade Scotland, and that a person from Scotland, along with another person from France whom the cardinal would appoint, should be sent thither to urge the application at the Swedish court. The cardinal gave as his reason for thus deviating from his original plan, that the Swedes being Protestants, would be more agreeable to the people of Scotland, than French or Irish troops. In accordance with this proposal, Lord Traquair suggested that

Murray of Broughton should be sent to Sweden on the proposed mission, but he declined.

From the turn which the affair of the invasion had now taken, and the time when it was expected to take place being allowed to elapse without any preparations on the part of France, a suspicion began to be entertained by the members of the Concert, that the cardinal never had any intention to invade Scotland, and that the whole was a scheme of Drummond's to keep alive the spirit of party in Scotland, and to make himself pass for useful in the eyes of his employers. To ascertain the real state of the case, Murray of Broughton, at the suggestion of Lord Traquair, was sent to Paris in the month of January, 1743. He took London on his way, but before he reached the capital, he heard of the death of Cardinal Fleury. After staying a short time in London, Murray went privately to Paris, where he met Drummond and Sempil, who managed the Chevalier's affairs in France. They stated to him, that in all probability the scheme of invasion would have been carried into effect, had not the army of Marshal Maillebois been sent towards Hanover instead of the coast of Flanders, as at first intended; and that from the interest taken by the cardinal in the affairs of the Stuarts, he had put all the papers relating to them into the hands of Monsieur Amelot, the secretary for foreign affairs.

At an audience which Murray afterward had with Monsieur Amelot at Versailles, the foreign secretary told him that, on being made acquainted by Sempil with the cause of Murray's journey, he had informed the King of France of it, and that his Majesty had authorized him to assure Mr. Murray that he had the interest of the Stuart family as much at heart as any of the gentlemen who had signed the memorial of associa-

tion, and that as soon as he had an opportunity he would put the scheme into execution.

Shortly after this interview, Murray left Paris for London, accompanied by Drummond, who came over to obtain the assurances required by the French court from the English Tories and Jacobites. After remaining a few days in London, Murray returned to Edinburgh, to report to his friends the result of his mission. Drummond stopped at London, where he met Mr. Erskine of Grange, but although overtures were then, it is believed, made to Lord Barrymore, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, they declined to give any assurance or promise of support in writing. By desire of Drummond, Lord Traquair met him in London shortly after his arrival to assist him in his negotiations.

At first view it may appear singular, and the circumstance must convey a very sorry idea of the councils of the Chevalier de St. George, that a person of so little weight and influence as Drummond, who was utterly unknown to the English Tories and Jacobites, should have been sent on such an important mission; but when it is considered that some of the leading Jacobites were proscribed and in exile, and that those at home were strictly watched by the government, and were therefore afraid to commit themselves by any overt act, it cannot excite surprise that the Chevalier availed himself of the services of one whom he considered "an honest and sensible man." Drummond was, however, considered, even by his original employers, as an unfit person for executing the trust reposed in him, and Lord John Drummond, one of the seven who had signed the association, was quite indignant when he found him engaged in the mission to England. Nor was Sempil, another agent, between whom and Drummond a close

intimacy subsisted, more acceptable to the Scottish Jacobites, some of whom he offended by his forwardness.

During the earlier part of the year 1743, the French ministry were too much occupied with the war in Germany to pay much attention to the affairs of the Stuarts; but towards the close of that year they began to meditate upon an invasion of Great Britain. The Parliament met in the beginning of December, when a motion was made in the House of Peers by the Earl of Sandwich for an address to the crown to discontinue the Hanoverian troops in British pay, in order to remove the national discontent, which was represented to be so violent, that nothing but their dismission could appease it. The motion was negatived, but renewed in another shape on the army estimates being brought forward, when it shared the same fate. The attention of the French ministry being drawn to these and similar discussions, and to the general dissatisfaction which seemed to pervade the people of Great Britain, by the agents and partisans of the exiled family, backed by the influence of Cardinal Tencin, entered upon the project of an invasion in good earnest. The cardinal, who now had great influence in the councils of France, had, while a resident at Rome, been particularly noticed by the Chevalier de St. George, by whose influence he had been raised to the cardinalate, and he was moved as much from gratitude to his patron as from ambition to bring about the restoration of the Stuarts. The court of Versailles, indeed, required little inducement to engage in an enterprise which, whether it succeeded or not, would at all events operate as a diversion in favour of France in her contest with the house of Austria, of which Great Britain was the chief support; but it is not improbable that they at this time contemplated a more serious attempt. In intimating,

however, his resolution to undertake the expedition, the King of France notified to the Chevalier de St. George that it was to be kept a profound secret, and that neither the Duke of Ormond nor Lord Marischal should be let into the secret till the enterprise was ready to be put into execution.

The command of the troops designed for this expedition, amounting to fifteen thousand men, was given to Marshal Saxe, an able commander, who had distinguished himself in several campaigns; and the naval part, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, besides transports, collected at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, was entrusted to Monsieur de Roquefeuille, an officer of considerable experience and capacity. This force was destined for the coast of Kent, and a smaller force was to be landed in Scotland under the command of Lord Marischal.

While the preparations for the expedition were going on, Cardinal Tencin kept up an active correspondence with the Chevalier de St. George. As James felt rather disinclined to accompany the expedition himself, he proposed that his eldest son, Charles, a youth of great promise, then in his twenty-third year, should go in his stead; but as it was doubtful whether the prince would arrive in time to join the expedition, the Chevalier sent an express to the Duke of Ormond requesting him to accompany the expedition, and to act as regent, by virtue of a commission of regency formerly granted him, until the prince should arrive. On arriving in England, the duke was directed to advise with the principal friends of the family, among whom he particularly enumerated the Duke of Beaufort, the Earls of Barrymore, Westmoreland, and Orrery, Lord Cobham, and Sirs Watkin Williams Wynne, John Hynde Cotton, and Robert Abdy. Having obtained the con-

sent of the French court to this arrangement, the cardinal, upon the completion of the preparations for the expedition, despatched a messenger to Rome to request the attendance of the young prince at Paris. Accordingly, on the morning of the ninth of January, 1744, Prince Charles, accompanied by his brother Henry and two or three attendants, left Rome before break of day, but they had not proceeded far when they parted, the prince on his route to France and the duke to Cisterna. The former was disguised as a Spanish courier, and took only one servant along with him on his journey. To account for the departure of the two brothers, it was given out at Rome that they had gone to a boar hunt, and so well was the secret of the prince's real destination kept, that nearly a fortnight elapsed before it was discovered.

Provided with passports furnished by Cardinal Aquaviva, the prince travelled through Tuscany and arrived at Genoa. From Genoa he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked in a felucca, and passing by Monaco arrived at Antibes. From the latter place he proceeded to Paris, where he met Marshal Saxe and other officers belonging to the expedition, and after a private audience of the French king, he set out *incognito* for the coast of Picardy. The route by Genoa and Antibes was selected as the safest, and, from the season of the year, the most expeditious; but so unfavourable was the weather, that the prince had to stop some days at different places, and when he reached Antibes he was recognized, and information of his arrival there and of his departure for Paris was sent to the British government by persons in its interest. Hitherto the British ministry do not appear to have had any suspicion that the armaments at Brest, Boulogne, and other French ports, were destined for the shores of Britain, but the appearance

of the eldest son of the Chevalier de St. George in France opened their eyes to the dangers which now menaced them. At this time the military force in England did not exceed six thousand men, so that if the threatened invasion had taken place, a revolution would very probably have followed.

Taken thus by surprise, the Duke of Newcastle, as the organ of the British ministry, directed Mr. Thomson, the English resident at the court of France, by a letter dated the third day of February, 1744, to make a remonstrance to the French ministry for having violated the treaties by which the family of Stuart was excluded from the territories of France, and to require that the prince should be obliged forthwith to quit that kingdom. No direct answer was given to this remonstrance and requisition, nor would his most Christian Majesty explain what his intentions were until the King of England should give satisfaction respecting the repeated complaints which had been made to him touching the infraction of those very treaties which had been so often violated by his orders.

Meanwhile, the French fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of the line and five frigates, under M. de Roquefeuille, sailed from Brest, and for several days displayed itself in the channel. Knowing the object for which these ships had put to sea, the government was greatly alarmed, and not without cause; for, besides the paucity of troops in the island, they had only six ships of the line at home ready for sea, the grand fleet being then in the Mediterranean. The activity and preparations of the government corresponded with the magnitude of the danger with which it was threatened. Orders were instantly sent to fit out and man all the ships of war in the different ports of the channel. These orders were so promptly obeyed, that in a few days an English

fleet of three ships of one hundred guns, four of ninety, six of seventy, and six of fifty, was collected at Spithead under the command of Sir John Norris. Several regiments were immediately marched to the southern coast of England; all governors and commanders were ordered to repair forthwith to their respective posts; the forts at the mouth of the Thames and Medway were put in a posture of defence; and the militia of Kent were directed to assemble to defend the coast in case of an invasion. On the fifteenth day of February, the arrival of Prince Charles in France, the preparations along the French coast, and the appearance of the French fleet in the English channel, were announced to Parliament in a message from the king. Both houses joined in an address, in which they declared their indignation at the design formed in favour of "a popish pretender," and assured his Majesty they would take measures to frustrate so desperate and insolent an attempt. The city of London, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the principal towns in Great Britain, almost all the corporations and communities of the kingdom, the clergy of the establishment, the dissenting ministers, and the Quakers, or Society of Friends, presented similar addresses. A demand was made from the States-general of the six thousand auxiliaries which by treaty they had engaged to furnish on such occasions; and this force was immediately granted. Forgetful of the wrongs which he had suffered at the hands of the government, the Earl of Stair tendered his services, and was reappointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Great Britain. Several noblemen of the first rank followed his example, among whom was the Duke of Montague, who was permitted to raise a regiment of horse. Orders were sent to bring over the six thousand British troops from Flanders; and both Houses of Parliament, in a

second address, exhorted the king to augment his forces by sea and land, in such manner as he should think necessary at this dangerous juncture of affairs. The habeas corpus act was suspended for six months; several suspected persons were taken into custody; the usual proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against the unfortunate Catholics and non-jurors, who were ordered to retire ten miles from London; and every other precaution, deemed necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity, was adopted.

Meanwhile the preparations for invasion were proceeding rapidly at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the eye of Prince Charles. Roquefeuille had in his excursion in the channel come in sight of Spithead; and, as he could perceive no ships there, he imagined that the English ships had retired within their harbours. Judging the opportunity favourable, he detached M. de Barriel with five ships of war to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk, and to order the transports thereupon to put to sea. Roquefeuille then sailed up the channel with the remainder of his fleet as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, off which he anchored to await the arrival of the transports. Having received intelligence of Roquefeuille's arrival from an English frigate which came into the Downs, Sir John Norris left Spithead with the British fleet, and doubling the South Foreland from the Downs, on the twenty-third of February discovered the French fleet at anchor. Though the wind was against him, Sir John endeavoured, by availing himself of the tide, to come up and engage the French squadron; but, the tide failing, he was obliged to anchor when about two leagues from the enemy. He intended to attack them next morning, but M. de Roquefeuille, not judging it advisable to risk an engagement, weighed anchor after sunset, and favoured

by a hard gale of wind from the northeast which blew during the night, ran down the channel and got into Brest harbour. So violent was the gale, that all the English fleet (two ships only excepted) parted with their cables and were driven out to sea, and before it could have returned to its station, the transports, under convoy of the five ships of war despatched by Roquefeuille, might have disembarked the army under Marshal Saxe had the storm not reached the French coast; but the tempest, which merely forced the English ships to quit their moorings, was destructive to the expedition, and utterly disconcerted the design of invading England.

On the very day on which the two fleets discovered each other, Marshal Saxe, accompanied by Charles Edward, arrived at Dunkirk, and proceeded to get his troops embarked as fast as possible. Seven thousand men were actually shipped, and proceeded to sea that day with a fair wind, but in the evening the wind changed to the east and blew a hurricane. The embarkation ceased, several of the transports which had put to sea were wrecked, many soldiers and seamen perished, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores was lost. The remainder of the transports were damaged to such an extent that they could not be speedily repaired.

Such was the result of an expedition planned with great judgment and conducted with such secrecy as to have escaped the vigilance of the government till on the very eve of its being carried into execution. After the discomfiture it had met with from the elements, and the formidable attitude which England, aroused to a sense of the imminent danger she was in, had now assumed, the French court must have instantly abandoned, as it is believed it did abandon, any idea of renewing the enterprise; but Charles Edward,

sanguine of success, and in no shape discouraged by the catastrophe which had happened, daily importuned Marshal Saxe to re-embark his troops and proceed to England; but the marshal excused himself, by urging the necessity of fresh instructions from court and the previous repair of the damaged transports. The French ministry, however, finally resolved to postpone the expedition.

Although war may be said to have virtually commenced between Great Britain and France by the battle of Dettingen, which was fought between the allies and the French in the month of June, 1743, no formal declaration of war was issued by either power till the month of March following, after the expedition against England had been given up. Immediately after that event, the English resident at the court of France was informed that a declaration of war must ensue, which was accordingly issued on the twentieth of March. This was followed by a counter declaration against France, published at London on the thirty-first of the same month.

After the failure and abandonment of the enterprise, Prince Charles retired to Gravelines, where he lived several months in private under the assumed name of the Chevalier Douglas. Ever since his arrival in France he had been forced by the French court to preserve an *incognito,* which, though highly approved of by Drummond and Sempil, his father's agents, was productive of great uneasiness to the Chevalier de St. George, who could not understand the reason for affecting to conceal a fact which was notorious to all the world.

The preparations for invasions had raised, not without foundation, great hopes of a restoration in the minds of the Scottish Jacobites; but when they ascertained that the expedition was relinquished, they felt all that bitterness of disappointment which the miscarriage

of any cherished scheme is sure to engender. They did not however despair of effecting their object ultimately, and, in the meantime, the leading members of the Concert despatched a messenger to the prince to assure him of their attachment to his cause, and inform him of the state of the country and the dispositions of the people. About the same time Murray of Broughton went to Paris, by advice of the Earl of Traquair, to ascertain the exact situation of affairs. Here he was introduced to the prince by Drummond and Sempil. At a private interview which he had with Charles the following day, Murray stated, that from the absurd and contradictory nature of the communications made by the prince's agent at Paris, they had, as it appeared to him, a design to impose upon him with the intention of serving themselves. Charles alluded to the association which had been formed at Edinburgh, said that he did not doubt that the King of France intended to invade Britain in the ensuing spring; that he was already preparing for it, and intended to execute it as soon as the campaign in Flanders was over; but that whether the King of France undertook the expedition or not, he himself was determined to go to Scotland. Murray, thereupon, endeavoured to show him that such an attempt would be desperate, as he could not at the utmost expect to be joined by more than four or five thousand men; but notwithstanding Murray's representations, Charles repeated his determination of going to Scotland. Murray says that he was so much against the undertaking, that he spoke to Sir Thomas Sheridan — an Irish gentleman who enjoyed the prince's confidence — to endeavour to persuade him against it, and that Sir Thomas told him, on his arrival in Scotland, that he had done so, but to no purpose. On returning to Scotland Murray reported to the members of the association all that had

passed at the conference with the prince; and all of them, except the Duke of Perth, declared themselves opposed to the prince's resolution of coming to Scotland without troops. Murray then wrote a letter to Charles, stating the opinion of his friends, and representing the ruinous consequences which might ensue from such a rash undertaking. This letter was committed to the care of a gentleman who went to London in the month of January, in the year 1745; but he neglected to forward it, and it was returned to Murray in the month of April. Murray made several attempts afterward to forward the letter to France, and at last succeeded; but it never came to the hands of the prince, who departed for Scotland before the letter reached its destination.

During the spring of 1745, the agents of the Chevalier de St. George renewed their solicitations at the French court for another expedition; but Louis and his ministers were too much occupied with preparations for the campaign in Flanders to pay much attention to such applications. They however continued to amuse the Jacobite negotiators with assurances of conditional support; but James began to perceive that little or no reliance could be placed upon such promises. To relieve himself from the *ennui* occasioned by the failure of the expedition, and the state of seclusion in which he was kept by the French government, and to obtain some knowledge of military tactics, Charles applied for permission to make a campaign with the French army in Flanders; but although he was warmly backed in his application by his father, Louis refused to accede to his wish. Though frustrated in his expectations of any immediate aid from France, and denied the trifling gratification of making a campaign, Charles manifested little of the restlessness and hauteur which he afterward

THE STEWART
Prince Charles Edward.

displayed on his return from Scotland. Though he had much reason, as he observed, "to be out of humour," he resolved, notwithstanding, to bear with patience the disappointments which he had experienced.

To ease his mind from the anxieties which pressed upon it, the Duke of Fitzjames and other friends of his family invited the prince to pass the spring at their country-seats in the neighbourhood of Paris, where, amid the society of his friends and rural recreations, he seemed, for a time, to forget the object for which he had come to France.

CHAPTER II

PRINCE CHARLES LANDS IN SCOTLAND

From mere auxiliaries in the war of the Austrian succession, Great Britain and France at last entered the field as principals; and in the spring of 1745, both parties were prepared to decide their respective differences by force of arms. The Jacobites, who looked upon war as the harbinger to a speedy realization of their wishes and their hopes, awaited the result with anxiety; though, from the policy of France, it was not difficult to perceive that the issue, whether favourable or unfavourable to France, would in reality neither advance nor retard the long looked for restoration. France, if defeated in the field, almost on her own frontiers, would require all her forces to protect herself; and could not, therefore, be expected to make a diversion on the shores of Britain. And, on the other hand, if successful in the campaign about to open in Flanders, she was likely to accomplish the objects for which the war had been undertaken, without continuing an expensive and dubious struggle in support of the Stuarts.

Charles Edward Stuart, the aspirant to the British throne, seems to have viewed matters much in the same light on receiving intelligence of the victory obtained by the French over the allies at Fontenoy, May 11, 1745. In writing to one of his father's agents at Paris, who had sent him information of the battle, Charles observes that it was not easy to form an opinion as to whether the result would "prove good or bad" for his affairs. He

had, however, taken his resolution to go to Scotland, though unaccompanied even by a single company of soldiers; and the event which had just occurred made him determine to put that resolution into immediate execution. At Fontenoy, the British troops maintained by their bravery the national reputation, but they were obliged to yield to numbers; yet, to use the words of a French historian, " they left the field of battle without tumult, without confusion, and were defeated with honour." The flower of the British army was, however, destroyed; and as Great Britain had been almost drained of troops, Charles considered the conjuncture as favourable, and made such preparations for his departure as the shortness of the time would allow.

The French government was apprised of Charles's intentions, and though the French ministers were not disposed openly to sanction an enterprise which they were not at the time in a condition to support, they secretly favoured a design, which, whatever might be its result, would operate as a diversion in favour of France. Accordingly, Lord Clare, (afterward Marshal Thomond) then a lieutenant-general in the French service, was pitched upon to open a negotiation with two merchants of Irish extraction, named Ruttledge and Walsh, who had made some money by trading to the West Indies. They had, since the war, been concerned in privateering; and, with the view of extending their operations, had lately obtained from the French government a grant of the *Elizabeth*, an old man-of-war of sixty-six guns, and they had purchased a small frigate of sixteen guns named the *Doutelle*, both of which ships were in the course of being fitted out for a cruise in the north seas. Lord Clare, having introduced Charles to Ruttledge and Walsh, explained the prince's design, and proposed that they should lend him their ships. This proposal was

at once acceded to by the owners, who also offered to supply the prince with money and such arms as they could procure, in fulfilment of which offer they afterward placed in his hands the sum of £3,800.

While the preparations for the expedition were going on, Charles resided at Navarre, a seat of the Duke of Bouillon, and occupied himself in hunting, fishing, and shooting. A few persons only in his own confidence were aware of his intentions; and so desirous was he of concealing his movements from his father's agents at Paris, that he gave out, shortly before his departure, that he intended to visit the monastery of La Trappe, in the vicinity of Rouen, and would return to Paris in a few days. The prince ordered the few followers who were to accompany him to assemble at Nantes, near the mouth of the Loire; and the better to conceal their design, they arrived there singly, took up their residence in different parts of the town, and when they met on the streets did not seem to recognize one another.

When informed that everything was in readiness for his departure, Charles went to Nantes in disguise, and, having descended the Loire in a fishing boat on the twentieth of June (O. S.), 1745, embarked on the twenty-first on board the *Doutelle* at St. Nazaire, whence he proceeded on the following day to Belleisle, where he was joined on the fourth of July by the *Elizabeth*, which had on board one hundred marines raised by Lord Clare, about two thousand muskets, and five or six hundred French broadswords. The persons who accompanied Charles were the Marquis of Tullibardine,[1] elder brother of James, Duke of Athole, Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been tutor to Charles; Sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service; Francis Strickland, an English gentleman; George Kelly, a clergyman, who had been confined in the Tower for being concerned in the Bishop

of Rochester's plot; Æneas or Angus Macdonald, a banker in Paris, brother to Kinlochmoidart; and O'Sullivan, an officer in the service of France. There were also some persons of inferior note, among whom were one Buchanan, who had been employed as a messenger to Rome by Cardinal Tencin, and Duncan Cameron, formerly a servant of old Lochiel at Boulogne, who was hired for the expedition, for the purpose, as he informs us, of descrying the "Long Isle."

The expedition sailed from Belleisle on the fifth of July with a fair wind, which continued favourable till the eighth, when a dead calm ensued. On the following day, when in the latitude of 47° 57′ north, and thirty-nine leagues west from the meridian of the Lizard, a sail was descried to windward, which proved to be the *Lion*, a British man-of-war of sixty guns, commanded by Captain Brett. When the *Lion* hove in sight, the prince, for better accommodation, was preparing to go on board the *Elizabeth*, but he laid aside his design on the appearance of the *Lion*, which happening at the time it did, was considered a lucky circumstance by his friends. While the *Lion* was bearing down on the French ships, M. D'Oe, or D'Eau, the captain of the *Elizabeth*, went on board the *Doutelle*, where a council of war was immediately held, at which it was determined, if possible, to avoid an action; but if an action became inevitable, that the *Elizabeth* should receive the first broadside, and should thereupon endeavour to board her adversary. While this conference lasted, both ships kept running before the wind; but the *Lion* being a fast sailing vessel soon neared the *Elizabeth*, and, when within nearly a mile of her, hove to for the purpose of reconnoitring the French ships and preparing for action. Judging an action now unavoidable, Captain D'Oe proposed to Walsh, one of the proprietors of the two vessels,

and who acted as commander of the *Doutelle*, that while the *Elizabeth* and *Lion* were engaged, the *Doutelle* should assist the *Elizabeth* by playing upon the *Lion* at a distance; but Walsh declined to interfere in any shape. The captain of the *Elizabeth* thereupon drew his sword, and taking leave, went back to his ship, with his drawn sword in his hand, to prepare for action.

Captain D'Oe had scarcely reached the *Elizabeth* when the *Lion* was observed to bear down upon her. Contrary to the plan laid down on board the *Doutelle*, the *Elizabeth* gave the first broadside, which was instantly returned by the *Lion*, and before the *Elizabeth* could get her other side to bear upon her opponent, the latter tacked about and poured in another broadside into the *Elizabeth*, which raked her fore and aft, and killed a great number of her men, including the captain and his brother, the second in command. Notwithstanding this untoward beginning, the *Elizabeth* maintained the fight nearly five hours, when night put an end to one of the most bloody and obstinate naval actions which had ever taken place between two single ships. Both vessels were a complete wreck, and not being able to pursue each other or renew the action, they parted as if by mutual consent. The prince, in the *Doutelle*, viewed the battle with great anxiety, and, it is said, importuned the captain to assist the *Elizabeth*, but Walsh positively refused to engage, and intimated to the prince, that if he continued his solicitations, he would order him down to the cabin.

After the action was over, Captain Walsh bore up to the *Elizabeth* to ascertain the state of matters, and was informed by a lieutenant of the severe loss she had sustained in officers and men, and the crippled state she was in. He, however, offered to pursue the voyage if supplied with a mainmast and some rigging, but Walsh had no spare materials; and after intimating that he would

endeavour to finish the voyage himself, and advising the commander of the *Elizabeth* to return to France, both ships parted, the *Elizabeth* on her way back to France, and the *Doutelle* on her voyage to the Western Highlands.

On the eleventh of July a sail was discovered, which gave chase to the *Doutelle;* but being a swift-sailing vessel she outran her pursuer. She encountered a rough sea and tempestuous weather on the fifteenth and sixteenth, after which the weather became fine till the midnight of the twentieth, when a violent storm arose. She stood out the gale, however, and on the twenty-second came within sight of land, which was discovered to be the southern extremity of Long Island, a name by which, from their appearing at a distance, and in a particular direction, to form one island, the islands of Lewis, the Uists, Barra, and others are distinguished. On approaching the land, a large ship, which appeared to be an English man-of-war, was descried between the *Doutelle* and the island. On perceiving this vessel, Walsh changed the course of the *Doutelle*, and stretching along the east side of Barra, reached the strait between South Uist and Eriska, the largest of a cluster of little rocky islands that lie off South Uist. When near the land, Duncan Cameron, before mentioned, was sent on shore in the long-boat to bring off a proper pilot, and having accidentally met the piper of Macneil of Barra, with whom Cameron was acquainted, he took him on board. In the strait alluded to, the *Doutelle* cast anchor on the twenty-third of July, having been eighteen days at sea.

Accompanied by his attendants, the prince immediately landed in Eriska, and was conducted to the house of Angus Macdonald, the tacksman, or principal tenant thereof and of the small islands adjoining. To anticipate that prying curiosity and speculation which the inhabit-

ants of the Western Isles always display on the arrival of strangers, the prince's companions represented him as a young Irish priest, a species of visitor by no means uncommon in these islands, whither priests from the opposite coast of Ireland had been long accustomed to resort, for the purpose of giving the islanders that religious instruction and consolation of which, by the change in the national religion, they had been almost debarred from receiving from the hands of native priests. From the tacksman of Eriska, the party learned that Macdonald, chief of Clanranald, and Macdonald of Boisdale, his brother, were upon the island of South Uist, and that young Clanranald, the son of the chief, was at Moidart upon the mainland. As Boisdale was understood to have great influence with his brother, a messenger was immediately despatched to South Uist, requesting his attendance on board the *Doutelle*.

Charles and his companions passed the night in the house of the tacksman, but the accommodation was very indifferent. They had not a sufficiency of beds, but the prince, regardless of his own ease, declined to occupy one.[2] Next morning they returned to the ship. Boisdale soon thereafter made his appearance. As his brother, Clanranald, was unfit, from age and bad health, to be of any essential service, Charles was anxious to secure the assistance of Boisdale, by whose means he expected that the clan would be induced to rise in his support. Boisdale had, however, already made up his mind upon the subject, and the result of the interview was extremely discouraging to Charles. At first, the prince proposed that Boisdale should accompany him to the mainland, and endeavour to engage his nephew to take up arms; but Boisdale decidedly declined the proposal, and even declared that he would do everything in his power to prevent his brother and nephew from

engaging in an enterprise which he considered desperate. Baffled in his first attempt, Charles next proposed to despatch Boisdale with a message to Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat and the laird of Macleod, who had extensive possessions in the island of Skye, requesting their assistance; but Boisdale informed the prince that such a mission would be useless, as he had seen Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod very lately, — that they had stated to him the probability that the prince would arrive, but that if he came without a body of regular troops, they were determined not to join him, and were of opinion that no other person would. Boisdale added, that he was instructed by these gentlemen to mention their resolution to the prince in case he should meet him on his arrival, and to advise him, should he come unprovided with troops, to return directly to France.

Charles was sadly perplexed at Boisdale's obduracy, but he endeavoured to soften him by representing his affairs in the most favourable light; but the Highlander was inflexible. While this prolonged altercation was going on, two vessels appeared making for the strait in which the *Doutelle* lay, a circumstance which induced her commander to weigh anchor and stand in for the mainland. Boisdale, still pressed by the prince, remained on board till the ship had advanced several miles in her course, when he entered his boat, and left Charles to ruminate over his disappointment. The *Doutelle* continued her course during the night, and next morning cast anchor in the bay of Lochnanuagh, which partly divides the countries of Moidart and Arisaig. On approaching the strait, the Marquis of Tullibardine, when about to retire below to dinner, observed an eagle hovering over the frigate, which he looked upon as a happy augury, but afraid of being taxed by his com-

panions with superstition, he at first took no notice of the circumstance. On coming upon deck after dinner, he saw the eagle still hovering above the vessel and following her in her course. No longer able to restrain himself, he directed the attention of Charles and his suite to the royal bird, and thereafter turning to the prince, thus addressed him: "Sir, I hope this is an excellent omen, and promises good things to us. The king of birds is come to welcome your Royal Highness upon your arrival in Scotland."

Though foiled in his attempt upon Boisdale, the young adventurer resolved to repeat the same experiment upon his nephew, and accordingly he immediately sent a boat on shore with a letter to young Clanranald; Æneas Macdonald also went on shore to bring off Kinlochmoidart, his brother. Kinlochmoidart came on board immediately, and, after a short interview with the prince, was despatched with letters to Lochiel, the Duke of Perth, Murray of Broughton, and others.

Next day young Clanranald, accompanied by his kinsmen, Alexander Macdonald of Glenalladale, Æneas Macdonald of Dalily, and the author of a journal and memoirs of the expedition, came to Forsy, a small village opposite to the *Doutelle's* anchorage ground. They called for the ship's boat, and were immediately carried on board. The feelings of the party on getting upon deck are thus described by the writer alluded to. "Our hearts were overjoyed to find ourselves so near our long-wished-for P—ce; we found a large tent erected with poles on the ship's deck, covered and well furnished with variety of wines and spirits. As we entered this pavilion we were most cheerfully welcòm'd by the Duke of Athole, to whom some of us had been known in the year 1715. While the duke was talking to us, Clanranald was a-missing, and had, as we understood,

been called into the P—ce's cabin, nor did we look for the honour of seeing his R. H. at least for that night."

Of the conversation which took place between the prince and young Clanranald during the three hours they were closeted together, no account was ever given; but it is probable that if the latter stated any objections against the enterprise, they had been overcome before he rejoined his companions, as no allusion is made by the writer just quoted to any unwillingness on the part of the young chieftain to join the prince. Maxwell of Kirkconnel, who mentions the refusal of Boisdale, says, that young Clanranald frankly offered his services to the prince, a statement which, from the ardent and romantic attachment for the Stuarts with which that young chieftain was inspired, seems to approximate nearer the truth than that of Home, who classes Kinlochmoidart and young Clanranald together, as joining in a positive refusal to take up arms.[3]

According to Home, young Clanranald and Kinlochmoidart came on board together, and were addressed, with great emotion, by Charles, who had been almost reduced to despair by his interview with Boisdale. After using all the arguments he could for taking up arms, he conjured them to assist their countryman, their prince, in his utmost need. Though well inclined and warmly attached to the cause, the gentlemen in question are said to have positively refused, and to have told the prince, one after another, that to take up arms in their present unprepared state, without concert or support, would bring down certain destruction on their own heads. Charles persisted, argued, and implored, but without effect. During this conversation the parties walked backwards and forwards upon the deck, and were closely eyed by a Highlander who stood near them armed at all points, as was then the fashion of the country.

He was a younger brother of Kinlochmoidart, and had come off to the ship to inquire for news, not knowing who was on board. When he gathered from their discourse that the stranger was Prince Charles, and heard his chief and his brother refuse to take up arms in his behalf, his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his place and grasped his sword. Charles, observing his demeanour, stopped short, and turning towards him, put this interrogatory. "Will not you assist me?" "I will! I will!" exclaimed Ranald; "though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword I am ready to die for you." Charles, delighted with the young man's answer, evinced his gratitude by a profusion of thanks and acknowledgments, extolled his champion to the skies, and said he only wished that all the Highlanders were like him. Stung with the prince's observation, which could be regarded only as a reproach, and smitten by the example set by the heroic youth, the two Macdonalds instantly declared that they would unsheath their swords in support of the claims of the house of Stuart, and would use their utmost endeavours to rouse their countrymen to arms.

After the interview with the prince, Clanranald returned to his friends, who had, during the conference, been regaling themselves in the pavilion. In about half an hour thereafter the prince entered the tent and took his seat without appearing to notice any of the company. His appearance, and the scene which followed, are thus described by an eye-witness. "There entered the tent a tall youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat with a plain shirt, not very clean, and a cambrick stock fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round wig out of the buckle, a plain hat with a canvas string having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons; he had black stockings, and brass buckles in

his shoes. At his first appearance I found my heart swell to my very throat. We were immediately told by one Obrian, a churchman, that this youth was also an English clergyman, who had long been possessed with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders.

" When this youth entered, Obrian forbid any of those who were sitting to rise; he saluted none of us, and we only made a low bow at a distance. I chanced to be one of those who were standing when he came in, and he took his seat near me, but immediately started up again and caused me to sit down by him upon a chest. I, at this time taking him only to be a passenger or some clergyman, presumed to speak to him with too much familiarity, yet still retained some suspicion he might be one of more note than he was said to be. He asked me if I was not cold in that habit (viz., the Highland garb). I answered I was so habituated to it that I should rather be so (feel cold) if I was to change my dress for any other. At this he laughed heartily, and next inquired how I lay with it at night, which I explained to him. He said that by wrapping myself so close in my plaid I would be unprepared for any sudden defence in the case of a surprise. I answered that in such times of danger, or during the war, we had a different method of using the plaid, that with one spring I could start to my feet with drawn sword and cocked pistol in my hand, without being the least encumbered with my bedclothes. Several such questions he put to me; then rising quickly from his seat he calls for a dram, when the same person whispered me a second time to pledge the stranger but not to drink to him, by which seasonable hint I was confirmed in my suspicion who he was. Having taken a glass of wine in his hand, he drank to us all round, and soon after left us."

Having thus secured the support of young Clanranald,

Charles selected him to execute the commission which his uncle, Boisdale, had refused to undertake. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of July the young chieftain, attended by Allan Macdonald, a younger brother of Kinlochmoidart, was despatched with letters from the prince, to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod, to solicit the aid of their services. These powerful chieftains, who could raise nearly two thousand men between them, had promised to join the prince if he brought a foreign force along with him, but when they found that he had come without troops, they considered themselves released from their engagements, and refused to join in an enterprise which they considered desperate.

During young Clanranald's absence, Donald Macdonald of Scothouse, Dr. Archibald Cameron on the part of his brother Donald Cameron, younger of Lochiel, and Hugh Macdonald, brother to the laird of Morar, came on board the *Doutelle*. The latter, on his way home from Edinburgh, had met Kinlochmoidart crossing the water of Lochy, and had been informed by him of the arrival of the prince. In expectation of seeing the prince, he went to Kinlochmoidart's house, where he found Æneas Macdonald, brother to Kinlochmoidart, who told him that he might see the prince the following day if he pleased, but cautioned him not to accost him as such, as the prince passed for a French abbé with the crew of the vessel, who were ignorant of his rank. Next day the two Macdonalds went on board; and Charles, being informed of the name and character of his visitor, invited him down to the cabin. In a conversation which ensued, Hugh Macdonald expressed his fears as to the result of the expedition if persevered in, and hinted that, as he had brought no forces along with him, the most eligible course the prince could pursue was to return to France, and wait a more favourable opportunity. Charles re-

marked that he did not wish to be indebted for the restoration of his father to foreigners, but to his own friends; that he had now put it in their power to have the glory of doing so, and that as to returning to France without making an attempt, foreigners should never have to say that he had thrown himself upon his friends, that they had turned their backs upon him, and that he had been forced to retire for shelter to foreign lands. He concluded by observing, that if he could get only six stout trusty fellows to join him, he would choose rather to skulk with them among the mountains of Scotland than return to France. Doctor Cameron also urged Charles to return, and told him that Lochiel had made up his mind not to join; but Charles returned the same answer he had given to Hugh Macdonald. On the return from Skye of young Clanranald and Allan Macdonald, who brought back an absolute refusal from Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod, the whole party on board, including even Sir Thomas Sheridan, by whose advice the prince generally acted, importuned him to desist, chiefly on the ground that the refusal of two such influential and powerful chieftains would prevent others, who were well disposed to the cause, from joining; but Charles was immovable, and though without a single supporter, persisted in his resolution.

Charles remained on board the *Doutelle* till the twenty-fifth of July, the interval between which day and that of his arrival in Lochnanuagh was spent in despatching letters and receiving communications from his friends, and in consultations with his companions and the adherents who visited him, as to the means to be adopted for raising the clans who were favourably disposed. During the same interval, all the arms, ammunition, and stores were landed; and everything being in readiness for his reception on shore, Charles, accompanied

by his suite, landed at Borodale, a farm belonging to Clanranald, and took up his abode in the house of Angus Macdonald, the tenant of the farm, who received him and his companions with a hearty welcome. By orders of young Clanranald, Macdonald of Glenalladale and another gentleman of the clan had collected about a hundred of their men to serve as a body-guard to the prince, all of whom were hospitably entertained at Borodale.

No situation could have been anywhere selected more suitable for the circumstances and designs of Charles than the abode he had chosen. Besides being one of the most remote and inaccessible places in the Western Highlands of Scotland, it was surrounded on all sides by the territories of the most devoted adherents of the house of Stuart, by the descendants of the heroes of Kilsyth and Killicrankie, in whose breasts the spirit of revenge had taken deep root, for the cruelties which had followed the short-lived insurrection of 1715, and the affronts to which they had been subjected under the disarming act. These mountaineers had long sighed for an opportunity of retaliation, and they were soon to imagine that the time for vengeance had arrived.

As soon as the landing of Charles was known, the whole neighbourhood was in motion, and repaired, " without distinction of age or sex," to the house of Borodale, to see a man with whose success they considered the glory and happiness of their country to be inseparably associated. To gratify his warm-hearted and generous visitors, and to attain a full view of the assembled group, Charles seated himself in a conspicuous part of the room where a repast had been laid out for him and his friends. Here, amid the congregated spectators who feasted their eyes with the sight of the lineal descendant of a race of kings, endeared to them by many ennobling and even

sorrowful recollections, the prince partook of the fare provided by his kind host, with a cheerfulness which banished all reflection of the past or care for the future. At the conclusion of the repast, Charles drank the grace-drink in English, which, of course, was understood only by a few of the persons present. The guest to whom we are indebted for this account, says, that when his turn came to propose a toast, wishing to distinguish himself, he gave "the king's health" in Gaelic in an audible voice, — "Deoch slaint an Righ." When the prince was informed that his father's health had been drunk, he requested the gentleman who had proposed it to pronounce the words again in Gaelic, that he might repeat them himself. This being done, Charles repeated the words, and understanding that the proposer was skilful in Gaelic, the prince intimated to him that he would henceforth take instructions from him in that language. The same individual, afterward, by desire, gave also the healths of the prince, and his brother "the duke," in Gaelic. Such condescension and familiarity on the part of Charles were highly gratifying to the feelings of all present, and were better calculated to secure the affections of the unsophisticated people, into whose arms he had thrown himself, than all the pomp and circumstance of regal splendour.

Though the extreme rashness of young Clanranald, and his friends, in thus exposing themselves to almost inevitable destruction, be quite inexcusable on the score of sober reason, yet it is impossible not to admire the daring intrepidity of the men, who, at the call of a friendless and unprotected youth, could commit themselves in a struggle with the government even before they had ascertained that a single clan, except their own, would join. Their devotedness to the cause of the Stuarts did not blind them, however, to the dangers they

were about to expose themselves by declaring for the prince; but having now thrown away the scabbard, they resolved to cling to the cause which a feeling of fidelity prompted them to espouse, reckless of the consequences. "All may judge," says a gentleman of the clan, "how hazardous an enterprise we were now engaged in, being for some time quite alone; but we resolved, notwithstanding, to follow our prince, and risk our fate with his."

Charles, before landing, had despatched messengers to several of the chiefs who were favourably disposed. From Borodale he again sent off fresh messengers to all the chiefs from whom he expected assistance, requiring their attendance. Some of his friends, aware of his arrival, had, it is said, already held a meeting to consult as to the course they should pursue; at which Macdonald of Keppoch had given his opinion, that as the prince had risked his person, and generously thrown himself into the hands of his friends, they were bound, in duty at least, to raise men instantly for the protection of his person, whatever might be the consequences; but it does not appear that any such resolution was at that time adopted.

The person pitched upon to visit Lochiel on this occasion was Macdonald, younger of Scothouse, who succeeded in inducing that chief to visit the prince at Borodale, but he went with a determination not to take up arms. On his way to Borodale he called at the house of his brother, John Cameron of Fassefern, who, on being told the object of his journey, advised Lochiel not to proceed, as he was afraid that the prince would prevail upon him to forego his resolution.[4] Lochiel, firm in his determination, as he imagined, told his brother that his reasons for declining to join the prince were too strong to be overcome, and pursued his journey.

Donald Cameron of Lochiel, on whose final determination the question of a civil war was now to depend (for it seems to be universally admitted that if Lochiel had declined to take up arms the other chiefs would have also refused), though called young Lochiel by the Highlanders, from his father being still alive, was rather advanced in life. His father, for the share he had taken in the insurrection of 1715, was attainted and in exile. In consequence of the attainder, young Lochiel had succeeded to the family estates upon the death of his grandfather, Sir Ewen Cameron, in 1719. Sir Ewen had served with distinction under Montrose and Dundee, and his son, and grandson, had inherited from the old warrior a devoted attachment to the house of Stuart, which no change of circumstances had been ever able to eradicate. The Chevalier de St. George, sensible of the inflexible integrity of the young chief, and of the great influence which he enjoyed among his countrymen on account of the uprightness of his character, and as being at the head of one of the most powerful of the clans, had opened a correspondence with him, and had invested him with full and ample powers to negotiate with his friends in Scotland, on the subject of his restoration.[5] Knowing the confidence which was so deservedly reposed in him, he was consulted on all occasions by the Jacobites in the Highlands, and, as has been elsewhere observed, was one of the seven who, in the year 1740, signed the bond of association to restore the Chevalier. Upon the failure of the expedition of 1743, young Lochiel had urged the prince to continue his exertions to get another fitted out; but he was averse to any attempts being made without foreign assistance, and cautioned the prince accordingly.

Among the chiefs who were summoned to Borodale, Lochiel was the first to appear, and immediately a private

interview ensued between him and the prince. Charles began the conversation by remarking, that he meant to be quite candid, and to conceal nothing; he then proceeded to reprobate, in very severe terms, the conduct of the French ministry, who, he averred, had long amused him with fair promises, and had at last deceived him. He admitted that he had but a small quantity of arms, and very little money; that he had left France without concerting anything, or even taking leave of the French court; that he had, however, before leaving France, written letters to the French king and his ministers, acquainting them of the expedition, and soliciting succours, which he was persuaded, notwithstanding their late conduct, they would send as soon as they saw that he really had a party in Scotland; that he had appointed Earl Marischal his agent at the court of France; and that he depended much upon the zeal and abilities of that nobleman, who would himself superintend the embarkation of the succours he was soliciting.

While Lochiel admitted the engagements which he and other chiefs had come under to support the cause, he observed that they were binding only in the event of the stipulated aid being furnished; and as his Royal Highness had come over without such support, they were released from the engagements they had contracted. He therefore reiterated the resolution which he had already intimated, by means of his brother, not to join in the present hopeless attempt, and advised his Royal Highness to return to France and await a more favourable opportunity. Charles, on the other hand, maintained, that an opportunity more favourable than the present might never occur again; that, with the exception of a very few newly-raised regiments, all the British troops were occupied abroad. He represented, that the regular troops now in the kingdom were insufficient to

withstand the body of Highlanders his friends could bring into the field; and he stated his belief, that if in the outset he obtained an advantage over the government forces, the country in general would declare in his favour, and his friends abroad would at once aid him; that everything, in fact, now depended upon the Highlanders; and that to accomplish the restoration of his father, it was only necessary that they should instantly declare themselves and begin the war.

These arguments, which, as the result has shown, were more plausible than solid, had no effect upon Lochiel, who continued to resist all the entreaties of Charles to induce him to alter his resolution. Finding the prince utterly averse to the proposal made to him to return to France, Lochiel entreated him to be more moderate in his views. He then suggested, that Charles should send his attendants back to France; that he himself should remain concealed in the country; that a report should be circulated that he also had returned to France, and that the court of France should be made acquainted with the state of matters, and informed that his friends would be ready to take up arms upon the first notice of a landing, but that nothing could be done without foreign support. And in the meantime, Lochiel undertook to guarantee the personal safety of the prince. Charles, however, rejected this proposal also, and told Lochiel, that the court of France would never be convinced that he had a considerable party in Scotland, till there was an actual insurrection, without which he was afraid they would not venture their troops.

As a last shift, Lochiel suggested that Charles should remain at Borodale till he and other friends should hold a meeting, and concert what was best to be done. With an impatience which spurned delay, Charles would not even listen to the proposal, and declared his firm deter-

mination to take the field, how small soever the number of his attendants might be. "In a few days," said he, "with the few friends that I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors — to win it, or to perish in the attempt; Lochiel, whom my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and from the newspapers, learn the fate of his prince." This appeal was irresistible. "No!" exclaimed Lochiel, "I'll share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me any power."

Having extorted an acquiescence from Lochiel, who, impelled by a mistaken but chivalrous sense of honour, thus yielded to the prince's entreaties in spite of his own better judgment, Charles resolved to raise his standard at Glenfinnin on the nineteenth of August. In pursuance with this resolution, he despatched letters from Borodale on the sixth to the different chiefs who were favourably disposed, informing them of his intention, and requiring the presence of them and their followers at Glenfinnin on the day appointed, or as soon thereafter as possible. Lochiel, at the same time, returned to his own house, whence he despatched messengers to the leading gentlemen of his clan to raise their men, and to hold themselves in readiness to march with him to Glenfinnin.[6]

After sending off his messengers, Charles left Borodale for the house of Kinlochmoidart, about seven miles from Borodale, whither he and his suite had been invited by the proprietor to spend a few days, while the preparations for the appointed meeting were going on. Charles and his party went by sea, and their baggage and some artillery were forwarded by the same conveyance; but the body-guard, which had been provided by Clanranald,

proceeded by land along the heads of two intervening bays. While at the hospitable mansion of his friend, Charles expressed his sense of the services of Kinlochmoidart in the warmest terms, offered him a colonel's commission in a regiment of horse-dragoons, and promised him a peerage.[7]

During Charles's stay at Kinlochmoidart, the arming of the Highlanders went on with extraordinary alacrity; and several days before the prince's departure for Glenfinnin, detached parties of armed Highlanders were to be seen perambulating the country in different directions. Though three weeks had elapsed since the arrival of the prince, yet so effectually had his arrival been concealed from the officers of the government in the Highlands, that it was not until they received intelligence of these movements, that they began even to suspect his arrival. Alarmed by reports which reached him for the safety of Fort William, around which Lochiel and Keppoch were assembling their men, the governor of Fort Augustus despatched, on the sixteenth of August, two companies of the second battalion of the Scots Royals, under the command of Captain (afterward General) Scott, to reinforce that garrison; but they did not reach their destination, having been taken prisoners by a party of Lochiel's and Keppoch's men. As this occurrence may be regarded as the commencement of hostilities, and as it is strongly characteristic of the ardour with which the Highlanders took the field at the command of their chiefs, the details of it may not here be considered as out of place.

At the period in question, as well as at the time of the previous insurrection of 1715, the country between Fort William and Inverness was inhabited altogether by disaffected clans, to overawe whom chiefly, the chain of forts, named Fort William, Fort Augustus, and Fort

George, which reach across the Highlands from the east to the west sea, was placed. In the centre of these, or almost equidistant between Fort William and Fort George, stands Fort Augustus, the distance between which and Fort William is twenty-eight miles. To keep up a regular communication between the garrisons of the two last mentioned forts, a road was made by orders of the government along the sides of the mountains which skirt the narrow lakes, which now form part of the bed of the Caledonian canal. It was along this road that the detachment in question marched. That they might reach Fort William the same day — there being no place on the road where so many men could have taken up their quarters during night — they left Fort Augustus early in the morning of the sixteenth of August, and met with no interruption till they arrived at High Bridge, within eight miles of Fort William. This bridge, which consists of one arch of great height, is built across the river Spean, — a mountain-torrent confined between high and steep banks. On approaching the bridge the ears of the party were saluted by the sound of a bagpipe, — a circumstance which could excite little surprise in the Highlands; but when they observed a body of Highlanders on the other side of the bridge with swords and firelocks in their hands, the party became alarmed.

The Highlanders who had posted themselves at the bridge were of Keppoch's clan, and were under the command of Macdonald of Tierndriech; and though they did not consist of more then eleven or twelve persons, yet by leaping and skipping about, moving from place to place, and extending their plaids between one another to give themselves a formidable appearance, they impressed Captain Scott with an idea that they were a pretty numerous body. He therefore halted his men, and sent forward a sergeant with his own servant towards the

bridge to reconnoitre; but when they came near the bridge they were seized and carried across by two nimble Highlanders, who unexpectedly darted upon them. Seeing the fate of his messengers, knowing that he was in a disaffected district, and ignorant of the strength of the Highlanders, Captain Scott deemed it more advisable to retreat than risk an encounter. He, therefore, ordered his men to face about, and return by the road they had come. Tierndriech had for some time observed the march of these troops, and had sent expresses to Lochiel and Keppoch, whose houses were within three or four miles of High Bridge, announcing their advance, and demanding assistance. Expecting immediate aid and not wishing to display his weakness, which, from the openness of the ground near the bridge, would have been easily discernible, he did not follow Scott immediately, but kept at a distance till the troops had passed the west end of Loch Lochie, and were upon the narrow road between the lake and the mountain. The Highlanders thereupon made their appearance, and ascending the craggy eminences which overhang the road, and, sheltering themselves among the rocks and trees, began to fire down upon the retreating party, who, in place of returning the fire, accelerated their pace.

Before this fire had been opened, bands of Highlanders were proceeding in the direction of the bridge to assist in the attack. Upon hearing the report of the fire-arms, these hastened to the place whence the firing proceeded, and in a short time a considerable body joined the party under Tierndriech. Captain Scott continued his march rapidly along the loch, and when he reached the east end he observed some Highlanders on a hill at the west end of Loch Oich, where they had assembled apparently for the purpose of intercepting him on his retreat. Disliking the appearance of this body, which

stood in the direct way of his retreat, Scott resolved to throw himself for protection into Invergary castle, the seat of Macdonell of Glengary, and accordingly crossed the isthmus between the two lakes. This movement, however, only rendered his situation more embarrassing, as he had not marched far when he perceived another body of Highlanders, the Macdonells of Glengary, coming down the opposite hill to attack him. In this dilemma he formed his men into a hollow square, and proceeded on his march. Meanwhile, Tierndriech having been reinforced by a party of Keppoch's men, headed by the chief, hastened the pursuit, and soon came up with the fugitives. To spare the effusion of blood, Keppoch advanced alone to Scott's party, required them to surrender, and offered them quarters; but assured them, that, in case of resistance, they would be cut to pieces. Fatigued with a long march, and surrounded on all sides by increasing bodies of Highlanders, Captain Scott, who had been wounded, and had had two of his men killed, accepted the terms offered, and surrendered. This affair was scarcely over, when Lochiel arrived on the spot with a party of Camerons, and took charge of the prisoners, whom he carried to his own house at Achnacarie. The result of this singular rencounter, in which the Highlanders did not lose a single man, was hailed by them as the harbinger of certain success, and they required no farther inducement to prosecute the war thus auspiciously begun, as they imagined.

Charles, to whom it may be supposed intelligence of this affair was instantly sent, left Kinlochmoidart on the eighteenth of August, on which day he went by water to the seat of Alexander Macdonald of Glenalladale, on the side of Loch Shiel, where he was joined by Gordon of Glenbucket, who brought with him Captain

Sweetenham, an English officer of Guise's regiment, who had been taken prisoner by a party of Keppoch's men while on his way to Fort William to inspect that fortress. The prince passed the night at Glenalladale, and with his attendants, who amounted to about twenty-five persons, proceeded about six o'clock next morning in three boats for Glenfinnin, and landed within a few hours at the east end of Loch Shiel, where the little river Finnin falls into the lake.

Glenfinnin, the place appointed for the rendezvous, is a narrow vale bounded on both sides by high and rocky mountains, between which the river Finnin runs. This glen forms the inlet from Moidart into Lochaber, and at its gorge is about fifteen miles west from Fort William. On landing, the prince was received by the laird of Morar at the head of 150 men, with whom he marched to Glenfinnin, where they arrived about eleven o'clock. Charles, of course, expected to find a large "gathering of the clans" in the vale awaiting his approach; but, to his great surprise, not a human being was to be seen throughout the whole extent of the lonely glen, except the solitary inhabitants of the few huts which formed the hamlet. Chagrined and disappointed, Charles entered one of these hovels to ruminate over the supposed causes which might have retarded the assembling of his friends. After waiting about two hours in anxious suspense, he was relieved from his solicitude by the distant sound of a bagpipe, which occasionally broke upon his ear, and by its gradual increase, it soon became evident that a party was coming in the direction of the glen. While all eyes were turned towards the point whence the sound proceeded, a dark mass was seen overtopping the hill and descending its side. This was the Clan Cameron, amounting to between seven and eight hundred men, with Lochiel, their chief, at their head. They advanced in

two columns, of three men deep each, with the prisoners who were taken in the late scuffle between the lines.

If in the state of suspense in which he was kept after entering Glenfinnin, the spirits of Charles suffered a temporary depression, they soon recovered their wonted buoyancy when he beheld the gallant band which now stood before him. Without waiting, therefore, for the other clans who were expected to join, the prince at once resolved to raise his standard and to declare open war against "the elector of Hanover," as George the Second was called, "and his adherents." The marquis of Tullibardine, to whom, from his rank, was allotted the honour of unfurling the standard, took his station on a small knoll in the centre of the vale, where, supported by two men, he displayed the banner, and proclaimed the Chevalier de St. George as king before the assembled host, who rent the air with their acclamations. The flag used upon this occasion was of silk, of a white, blue, and red texture, but without any motto. After proclamation, a commission of the following tenor from the Chevalier de St. George, appointing his son Prince Charles regent of these kingdoms, was read by the Marquis of Tullibardine.

"James R.

"Whereas we have a near prospect of being restored to the throne of our ancestors, by the good inclinations of our subjects towards us; and whereas on account of the present situation of this country it will be absolutely impossible for us to be present in person at the first setting up of our royal standard, and even some time after; we therefore esteem it for our service, and the good of our kingdoms and dominions, to nominate and appoint, as we hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint our dearest son, Charles Prince of Wales to be

sole regent of our kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of all our other dominions during our absence. It is our will and intention that our said dearest son should enjoy and exercise all that power and authority, which, according to the ancient constitution of our kingdoms, has been enjoyed and exercised by former regents. Requiring all our faithful subjects to give all due submission and obedience to our regent aforesaid, as immediately representing our royal person, and acting by our authority. And we hereby revoke all commissions of regency granted to any person or persons whatsoever. And lastly, we hereby dispense with all formalities, and other omissions that may be herein contained; declaring this our commission to be as firm and valid to all intents and purposes, as if it had passed our great seals, and as if it were according to the usual style and forms. Given under our sign manual and privy signet at our court at Rome, the twenty-third day of December, seventeen hundred and forty-three, in the forty-third year of our reign. J. R."

The reading of this commission was succeeded by the following manifesto, of same date.

> "James VIII. by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

"Having always borne the most constant affection to our ancient kingdom of Scotland, from whence we derive our royal origin, and where our progenitors have swayed the sceptre with glory through a longer succession of kings than any monarchy upon earth can at this day boast of; we cannot but behold with the deepest concern the miseries they suffer under a foreign usurpa-

tion, and the intolerable burdens daily added to their yoke, which become yet more sensible to us when we consider the constant zeal and affection the generality of our subjects of that our ancient kingdom have expressed for us on all occasions, and particularly when we had the satisfaction of being ourselves amongst them.

" We see a nation always famous for valour, and highly esteemed by the greatest of foreign potentates, reduced to the condition of a province, under the specious pretence of an union with a more powerful neighbour. In consequence of this pretended union, grievous and unprecedented taxes have been laid on, and levied with severity in spite of all the representations that could be made to the contrary; and these have not failed to produce that poverty and decay of trade which were easily foreseen to be the necessary consequences of such oppressive measures.

" To prevent the just resentment which could not but arise from such usage, our faithful Highlanders, a people always trained up and inured to arms, have been deprived of them; forts and citadels have been built and garrisoned where no foreign invasion could be apprehended, and a military government has been effectually introduced, as into a conquered country. It is easy to foresee what must be the consequences of such violent and unprecedented proceedings, if a timely remedy be not put to them; neither is it less manifest that such a remedy can ever be obtained but by our restoration to the throne of our ancestors, into whose royal heart such destructive maxims could never find admittance.

" We think it needless to call to mind how solicitous we have ever been, and how often we have ventured our royal person, to compass this great end; which the Divine Providence seems now to have furnished us with

the means of doing effectually by enabling our good subjects in England to shake off the yoke, under which they have likewise felt their share of the common calamities. Our former experience leaves us no room to doubt of the cheerful and hearty concurrence of our Scots subjects on this occasion, towards the perfecting the great and glorious work; but that none may be deterred by the memory of past miscarriages from returning to their duty, and being restored to the happiness they formerly enjoyed, we in this public manner think fit to make known our gracious intentions towards all our people.

" We do therefore, by this our royal declaration, absolutely and effectually pardon and remit all treasons, and other crimes hitherto committed against our royal father, or ourselves. From the benefit of which pardon we except none, but such as shall, after the publication hereof, wilfully and maliciously oppose us, or those who shall appear or endeavour to appear in arms for our service.

" We farther declare that we will with all convenient speed call a free Parliament; that by the advice and assistance of such an assembly, we may be enabled to repair the breaches caused by so long an usurpation, to redress all grievances, and to free our people from the unsupportable burden of the malt-tax, and all other hardships and impositions which have been the consequences of the pretended union; that so the nation may be restored to that honour, liberty, and independency, which it formerly enjoyed.

" We likewise promise upon our royal word to protect, secure, and maintain all our Protestant subjects in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and in the secure possession of all churches, universities, colleges, and schools, conform to the laws of the land.

"All this we shall be ready to confirm in our first Parliament; in which we promise to pass any act or acts that shall be judged necessary to secure each private person in the full possession of his liberty and property, to advance trade, to relieve the poor, and establish the general welfare and tranquillity of the nation. In all such matters we are fully resolved to act always by the advice of our parliaments, and to value none of our titles so much as that of 'common father of our people,' which we shall ever show ourselves to be by our constant endeavours to promote the quiet and happiness of all our subjects. And we shall be particularly solicitous to settle, encourage, and maintain the fishery and linen manufactures of the nation, which we are sensible may be of such advantage to it, and which we hope are works reserved for us to accomplish.

"As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of our just rights and the prosperity of their country, we shall take effectual care to reward them according to their respective degrees and merits. And we particularly promise, as aforesaid, our full, free, and general pardon to all officers, soldiers, and sailors, now engaged in the service of the usurper, whether of the sea or land, provided that upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle against our forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty, in which case we shall pay them all the arrears that shall be at that time due to them from the usurper; we shall grant to the officers the same commissions they shall then bear, if not higher; and to all soldiers and sailors a gratification of a whole year's pay for their forwardness in promoting our service.

"We farther promise and declare, that the vassals of such as shall without regard to our present declaration, obstinately persist in their rebellion, and thereby

forfeit all pretensions to our royal clemency, shall be delivered from all servitude they were formerly bound to, and shall have grants and charters of their lands to be held immediately of the crown, provided they, upon the publication of this our royal declaration, declare openly for us, and join heartily in the cause of their country.

"And having thus declared our gracious intentions to our loving subjects, we do hereby require and command them to be assisting to us in the recovery of our rights, and of their own liberties; and that all our subjects from the age of sixteen to sixty, do, upon the setting up of our royal standard, immediately repair to it, or join themselves to such as shall first appear for us in their respective shires; and also to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever else may be necessary for the use of our forces.

"We also strictly command all receivers, collectors, or other persons who may be seized of any sum or sums of money levied in the name or for the use of the usurper, to retain such sum or sums of money in their own hands, till they can pay them to some person of distinction appearing publicly for us, and demanding the same for our use and service; whose receipt or receipts shall be a sufficient discharge for all such collectors, receivers, or other persons, their heirs, etc.

"Lastly, we do hereby require all sheriffs of shires, stewards of stewartries, and their respective deputies, magistrates of royal boroughs, and bailies of regalities, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration, at the market-crosses of their respective towns and boroughs, and there to proclaim us under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for their neglect of so necessary and important a duty."

After this manifesto had been read, the Marquis of Tullibardine returned to the prince's quarters with the standard under an escort of fifty Camerons. In about an hour after the conclusion of this ceremony, Macdonald of Keppoch joined the prince with three hundred of his men; and in the evening some gentlemen of the name of Macleod, displeased with the conduct of their chief, arrived at Glenfinnin, proffered their services to the prince, and offered to return to Skye, and raise all the men they could in support of his cause. On arriving at Glenfinnin, Macdonald of Tierndriech presented the prince with an excellent horse which he had taken from Captain Scott. The animated appearance of the glen, which now resounded with the martial strains of the pibroch, contrasted strongly with the solitary gloom which pervaded when the prince entered it. Instead of the small party which joined him in the morning, Charles found himself within a few hours thereafter at the head of a body of about twelve hundred brave and resolute men, warmly attached to his person and cause, and ready and willing to hazard their lives in his service. Charles was exceedingly delighted at the appearance of his little army, and it has been observed that at no other time did he display a greater buoyancy of spirits.

Of the many singular circumstances attending this extraordinary insurrection, the utter ignorance in which the personage in whose name it was undertaken was kept, is not the least. Charles had indeed written his father on the eve of his departure from France, acquainting him with the resolution he had taken, but before his letter reached Rome, the prince was actually at the head of his army. The object of Charles in concealing his design from the Chevalier is obvious. He was aware that his father would have opposed such a rash attempt, and might probably have applied to the court of France

to prevent his departure; and having taken his resolution, he was determined not to put it in jeopardy by too timely an announcement of his intentions. Whatever opinion may *now* be formed of the prudence of an undertaking, which, had it succeeded, would have been considered as one of the boldest strokes of political wisdom, there can be but one sentiment as to the conduct of the prince, in thus withholding from his parent all knowledge of the design he had formed for accomplishing the object of his daring ambition. Though under the corrupt influence of a few interested persons, whom he kept about his person, he still retained a sufficient portion of filial respect to prevent him from violating the declared injunctions of his father; and as no opposition short of actual violence could have induced him to forego his resolution of going to Scotland, he avoided the disagreeable alternative of disregarding the commands which his father would have laid upon him by taking the course he did.

When the Chevalier de St. George received the prince's letter, which informed him, that he was to proceed instantly to Scotland, he was greatly surprised and agitated; but as the step had been taken, he became reconciled to it, and even could not help applauding the courage of the prince in entering upon the enterprise. Writing to the Duke of Ormond, on the eleventh of August, the Chevalier says: "I have now by me your letters of the fourteenth July, and of the twenty-seventh, which last came by the courier, which brought me an account of the resolution the prince had taken, and executed without consulting me, for he was very sure I would not have approved it, tho' I cannot but say, that the courage and sentiments he shows on this occasion will always do him honor." Again in writing to his agent, Sempil, same day, he observes: "What takes

me up wholly at present is the resolution the prince has taken and executed, without my knowledge. . . . The question now is to look forward, and not to blame what is past. It is true, I never should have advised the prince to have taken such a step, but since it is taken it must be supported, and whatever be the event, it will certainly turn much to the prince's personal honor, nay, even something may be said to justify what he has done. The usage he met with in France, and the dread of a peace, were no doubt strong motives to push him on a rash undertaking, than to sit still; and who knows but what has happened may, in some measure, force the court of France out of shame to support him, while otherwise perhaps they had continued to neglect him, and then have abandoned him at last. . . . The prince's example will, I hope, animate our friends in England; he has ventured generously for them, and if they abandon him, they themselves, and indeed our country, will be ruined."

It had always been the opinion of the Chevalier — an opinion which experience has shown was well founded — that no attempt on Scotland could possibly succeed, unless accompanied by a simultaneous landing in England, and he now saw the necessity of enforcing this consideration more strongly than ever upon the court of France. In the letter which Charles had sent him, he desired his father to write to the King of France, and Cardinal Tencin, to urge them for support. The Chevalier, however, did not confine himself to the king and to the cardinal, but addressed himself also to the Marechal de Noailles, and the whole of the French ministers. Alluding to the necessity of supporting the prince by a descent on England, the Chevalier says in the letter to Ormond, from which a quotation has already been made: "Enfin, since the step is taken, it is certainly incumbent on all of us to do our best to support it, and

I am very sure nothing will be wanting on your side for that effect. My darkness, my anxiety, and the multiplicity of my reflections on this occasion are so great that I shall not pretend to enlarge on this subject at present. In the meantime, I now write to Lord Marischal by the way of Paris, and write also directly to the King of France, and all the ministers, for without a landing in England is soon made, humanly speaking, it will be impossible for the prince to succeed." He repeats almost the same observations in his letter to Sempil, also referred to: "I know not particularly the grounds he," the prince, "goes upon, but I am afraid there is little room to hope he will succeed, except he be vigorously supported by the court of France; and, therefore, we must all of us in our different spheres leave nothing undone for that effect. I now write myself to the King of France and all the ministers, and we must be all of us more than ever solely and wholly intent on the great object."

But the Chevalier, in his anxiety to procure early succours for the prince, did not confine himself to words. To pay off the debts which Charles had contracted before his departure, he immediately remitted a sum of two hundred thousand francs to O'Bryan, his chief agent at Paris, and placed another sum of fifty thousand francs in the hands of Waters, junior, his banker at Paris, at the disposal of O'Bryan, to meet instant contingencies. He afterward remitted to Waters, through Belloni, his banker at Rome, eighty thousand Roman crowns, and promised another remittance of eight-and-twenty thousand in a few weeks, which, he said, would exhaust his treasury.

In his letter to the King of France, the Chevalier informed him that he had learned with great astonishment the departure of the prince for Scotland; that

knowing well that he would never have approved of such a step, he had taken and put his resolution into effect without consulting him; but that being done, he was obliged in sincerity to confess that he could not but admire the conduct of the prince in entering upon the enterprise, which, he was certain, would make a great and favourable impression upon the minds of his adherents. He stated, however, his conviction, that without the aid of a foreign force it was utterly impossible for the prince to succeed, and he entreated his Majesty to furnish the necessary assistance. He reminded him that the prince had been invited by him into France, and although a year and a half had since elapsed, that he certainly had not forgot the object which brought his son thither; and that a crisis had now arrived, when the smallest delay on the part of his Majesty might be attended with danger to the success of the brave attempt which the prince had made, and that he might now, at little risk and at a small expense, finish the work which the prince was about to commence. As to himself personally, the Chevalier informed Louis that he had formerly intimated to him that he intended to resign his rights to the prince; and that his intentions were still the same, with this difference however, that while he formerly considered that such a step would be advantageous for his family, it had now become indispensably necessary for his own honour, on account of his infirmities, as he considered that he should act rashly, and be guilty of bad faith towards his subjects, if he pretended to take upon himself the cares of government, when he was incapable of any fatigue either of body or of mind, and consequently unable to discharge the duties of a sovereign. These sentiments, of the sincerity of which no doubt can be entertained, do great honour to James, who, if we may judge by his letters, is entitled

to stand in a higher station in the moral and intellectual scale than has been hitherto assigned him.

The proceedings of government to suppress the insurrection are now to engage the reader's attention.

CHAPTER III

PROGRESS OF PRINCE CHARLES

No event was less expected on the part of the government than the landing of Charles Edward. A flying report had, indeed, been spread in the Highlands in the beginning of summer, that the prince was to come over in the course of that season; but no person, not in the secret of his design, could have imagined that Charles had any intention to risk his person without being accompanied by a sufficient body of troops, and no disposition appeared on the part of France to assist him.

The report alluded to was first communicated in a letter from a gentleman of consideration in the Highlands to Lord-President Forbes, who, on the second of July, showed it to Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief in Scotland. Little credit was, however, attached to the report, either by the writer of the letter or by the president. Cope, though equally incredulous, considered it his duty to communicate the report to the Marquis of Tweeddale, the secretary of state for Scotland; and to provide against any contingency that might occur, he proposed that the forts of Scotland should be well provided, and that arms should be transmitted for the use of the well-affected clans. In an answer which the marquis wrote upon the ninth, he ordered Cope to keep a strict watch upon the north, but informed him, that, as the measures he proposed were considered by the lords of the regency acting in behalf of the king

during his Majesty's absence in Hanover, as likely to create alarm, they had declined to enter into them.

But the lords of the regency were soon aroused from their supineness by advices from abroad that the French court was meditating an invasion of Great Britain, and that the eldest son of the Pretender had left Nantes in a French man-of-war, and, according to some accounts, was actually landed in Scotland. On the thirtieth of July, the Marquis of Tweeddale wrote Sir John Cope, communicating to him the news which had just been received, and despatched letters of same date also to Lord Milton, the justice-clerk, and to the lord-advocate, with similar intelligence, and enjoining them to keep a strict lookout; to concert what was proper to be done in the event of a landing; and to give the necessary orders for making the strictest inquiry into the truth of the intelligence; and to transmit to the marquis, from time to time, such information as they were able to collect. The lords-justices, however, without waiting for a return to these letters, issued, on the sixth of August, the following proclamation.

" Whereas, by an act of Parliament made in the seventeenth year of his Majesty's reign, it was enacted, that if the eldest, or any other son or sons of the person who pretended to be the Prince of Wales in the lifetime of the late King James II and since his death assumed the name and title of James III King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, should, after the first day of May, in the year 1744, land, or attempt to land, or be found in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories thereunto belonging, or should be found on board any ship, vessel, or boat, being so on board with an intent to land in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories aforesaid, he and they respectively should, by virtue of the said act,

stand and be adjudged attainted of high treason to all intents and purposes whatsoever. And whereas we have received information that the eldest son of the said pretender did lately embark in France in order to land in some part of his Majesty's kingdoms, we, being moved with just indignation at so daring an attempt, and desirous that the said act may be carried effectually into execution, have thought it fit, by advice of his Majesty's Privy-Council, and do hereby in his Majesty's name, command and require all his Majesty's officers, civil and military, and all other his Majesty's loving subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to seize and secure the said son of the Pretender, whenever he shall land, or attempt to land, or be found in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories belonging to the crown of Great Britain, or shall be found on board any ship, vessel, or boat, being so on board with intent to land in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories aforesaid, in order to his being brought to justice; and to give notice thereof immediately, when he shall be so seized and secured, to one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state. And to the intent that all due encouragement be given to so important a service, we do hereby further, in his Majesty's name, promise a reward of £30,000 to such person or persons who shall so seize and secure the said son of the said Pretender, so as that he may be brought to justice; and his Majesty's high-treasurer or the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury for the time being, is, and are hereby required, to make payment thereof accordingly. And if any of the persons who have adhered to or assisted, or who shall adhere to or assist the said Pretender or his said son, shall seize and secure him the said son as aforesaid, he or they, who shall so seize and secure him, shall have his Majesty's gracious

pardon, and shall also receive the said reward, to be paid in manner aforesaid."

The express sent by the Marquis of Tweeddale reached Edinburgh on the third of August, but the advices which had been received in London had preceded it. The lord-president, in a letter written the day before to Mr. Pelham, mentions the alarm which, in a state of profound tranquillity, these advices had created. The report, however, of the prince's intended visit was discredited by the president, who considered the " young gentleman's game " to be then " very desperate " in Scotland, the president not being to learn that there was " the least apparatus for his reception, even amongst the few Highlanders who were expected to be in his interest." As, however, where there was so much at stake, the president wisely judged that no report respecting the prince's movements, however improbable, was to be disregarded, and he accordingly resolved to make his accustomed journey to the north a little earlier than usual, to the end that, though, as he himself observes, his " fighting days " were over, he might give countenance to the friends of government, and prevent the seduction of the unwary, should the report turn out well-founded. On the eighth of August, the lord-president wrote the Marquis of Tweeddale, stating that the lord-advocate and Sir John Cope had informed him of the advices which had been received from abroad, but expressing his disbelief of the report, which he considered " highly improbable." " I consider the report as improbable," he observes, " because I am confident that young man cannot with reason expect to be joined by any considerable force in the Highlands. Some loose lawless men of desperate fortunes may indeed resort to him; but I am persuaded that none of the Highland gentlemen, who have aught to lose, will,

after the experience with which the year 1715 furnished them, think proper to risk their fortunes on an attempt which to them must appear desperate; especially as so many considerable families amongst themselves have lately uttered their sentiments; unless the undertaking is supported by an arm'd power from abroad, or seconded by an invasion on some other part of his Majesty's dominions." To provide against any emergency which might arise in the north, his lordship proposed first, that a sufficient number of arms should be lodged in the forts in the Highlands, with directions by whom, and to whom they might be delivered out, — a proposal the same in substance as that made by Sir John Cope; and secondly, that money or credit should be lodged in the hands of confidential persons in the north, for the use of the public service. This last-mentioned measure he considered the more necessary, as it could not be expected, as he observed, that private individuals would come forward with money, when they recollected that several gentlemen, who, from the want of money in the year 1715, had advanced large sums out of their pockets for the public service, had not even been repaid, far less rewarded by the government.

The lord-president, though a man of sound judgment, and gifted with a considerable portion of political foresight, was, from entire ignorance of the character of Charles, completely deceived in his speculations; and Lord Tweeddale, probably misled by the president, on whose personal knowledge of the state of the Highlands he placed great reliance, adopted the same views. In an answer to the president's letter which the marquis wrote on the seventeenth of August, he thus expresses himself: "I own I have never been alarmed with the reports of the Pretender's son's landing in Scotland. I consider it as a rash and desperate attempt, that can

have no other consequence than the ruin of those concerned in it."

On the same day, however, on which the president's letter to Lord Tweeddale was written, all doubts of the arrival and landing of the prince were removed at Edinburgh, by an express from Lord Milton, the justice-clerk, then at Roseneath, to Sir John Cope, enclosing a letter dated the fifth, which he had received on the seventh from Mr. Campbell of Stonefield, sheriff of Argyle, in which was contained a copy of a letter received by the latter from Mr. Campbell of Aird, factor to the Duke of Argyle in Mull and Morvern, announcing the landing of the prince in Arisaig, and stating that some of the Macdonalds were already up in arms, and that other Highlanders were preparing to follow their example.

This news was confirmed next day, by another express from the laird of Macleod to the lord-president, dated the third of August. This letter he immediately communicated to the commander-in-chief. Mr. Home, — who, though he alludes to this letter, does not mention the name of the writer, either because he may have been unaware of it, or wished to conceal it, — states that it was written by the same gentleman who had formerly given the president information of the prince's design of coming to the Highlands. If so, Macleod was guilty of a base and dishonourable act, as he had certainly promised to join the prince, if supported by a foreign force. He might, at the time he is supposed to have communicated the information of the prince's intention, have been probably apprised of Charles's resolution to throw himself into the arms of the Highlanders; but if aware of such intention, his conduct is still more inexcusable. If, from a pure and discontented motive, he wished, by thus giving early notice of danger, to

save his country from the horrors of a civil war, and preserve his friends from ruin, his conduct must be considered patriotic and praiseworthy; but his previous conduct, as a partisan of the exiled family, negatives such a presumption. But Macleod himself appears to have been conscious that he was playing a double part, and he thus cunningly puts the president on his guard not to disclose the name of his informant: "As it can be of no use to the public, to know whence you have this information, it is, I fancy, needless to mention either of us," himself and Sir Alexander Macdonald, "but this we leave in your own breast, as you are a much better judge of what is, or is not, proper to be done. I've wrote to no other; and as our friendship and confidence in you is without reserve, so we doubt not of your supplying our defects properly." He mentions the visit of young Clanranald, but avoids any allusion to its object; and observes that he had given him and Sir Alexander Macdonald all possible assurances of his prudence.

This intelligence, which at first was withheld from the public, was shortly followed by the arrival of the *Gazette*, containing the proclamation for the apprehension of the prince. Nothing was now talked of at Edinburgh but the threatened invasion. In the state of ignorance in which the public were still kept, the most contradictory reports were circulated. A rumour of the departure of Charles from France had indeed been stated in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* a few days before, and the same paper had also, on the back of this report, stated, upon the alleged information of a foreign journal, that the prince had actually landed in the Highlands, and was to be supported by thirty thousand men and ten ships of war; but neither of these statements appears to have excited any sensation, being generally

discredited. Now, however, every person firmly believed that the prince had arrived. One day it was confidently asserted that he had landed in the Western Highlands with ten thousand French troops; next day it was affirmed with equal confidence that he had landed without troops; but that wherever he came the Highlanders to a man had joined him. On the other hand, the Jacobites, who were in the secret of the arrival, anxious to conceal the fact till Charles should be ready to take the field, industriously circulated a report that he was still in France, and had not the least intention of coming over. To divert the public attention, they had recourse to the weapons of ridicule. In their conversation they represented the preparations of the commander-in-chief in a ludicrous light; and, to make him contemptible in the eyes of the public, sent him anonymous letters containing most absurd articles of intelligence, which they afterward circulated with scurrilous comments.

In the present crisis Sir John Cope acted with more wisdom than has been usually ascribed to him, and certainly with more energy than his superiors. Not wishing, however, to trust entirely to his own judgment, he consulted Lord-President Forbes, and the lord-advocate and solicitor-general, the law-officers of the crown, upon the course to be adopted under existing circumstances. No man was better acquainted with everything appertaining to the Highlands than Forbes; and in fixing upon him as an adviser, Cope showed a laudable desire to avail himself of the best advice and information within his reach. At the period now in question, the insurrection was in a state of mere inception; and, according to the opinions of those best qualified to judge, there was little probability that it would assume a formidable character. At all events, sound

policy dictated that the threatened insurrection should be checked in its bud, and as its progress could only be stopped by the presence of a body of troops, Cope proposed, and his proposal received the approbation of the three public functionaries before named, to march to the Highlands with such troops as he could collect. The number of regular troops in Scotland did not, it is true, amount to three thousand men,[8] and some of them were newly raised; but there can be little doubt that, by a timely and judicious disposition of about two-thirds of this force in the disaffected districts, the embers of rebellion might have been extinguished. The unfortunate result of Cope's expedition detracts in no respect from the design he thus formed, though the propriety of his subsequent measures may well indeed be questioned.

Having formed his resolution, the commander-in-chief sent expresses to the secretary of state for Scotland on the ninth and tenth of August, announcing his intention of marching to the Highlands. In pursuance of this resolution he ordered a camp to be formed at Stirling, and required all the officers who were absent from their regiments to repair to their respective posts. About the same time he directed the lord-president to take the command of the companies raised in the north for Lord Loudon's Highland regiment, and notified the appointment to the officers of the regiment commanding in that quarter. As there was no bread in the country through which he intended to march, he bought up all the biscuit which the bakers of Edinburgh and Leith had on hand, and set all the bakers there, as well as those of Perth and Stirling, to work night and day to prepare a quantity of bread sufficient to support his army for twenty-one days.

On receipt of Cope's letters, the Marquis of Tweed-

dale laid them before the lords of the treasury, who approved of the conduct of the commander-in-chief, and particularly of his resolution of marching into the Highlands with such troops as he could assemble. The secretary notified the approbation of their lordships in a letter to Cope; and so satisfied were they with his plan, that when they understood that the march had been delayed only for a day or two, they sent down an express to him, with positive orders to begin his march to the north instantly. Their lordships seem not to have been aware of the causes which retarded his march, not the least of which was the want of money, a credit for which did not arrive till the seventeenth of August; notwithstanding, Cope had made the demand as early as the third of that month. The order to march reached Edinburgh on the nineteenth of August, on which day Cope, accompanied by the Earl of Loudon and several officers, set off for Stirling, where he arrived in the evening. Thus, by a singular coincidence, Charles and his opponent placed themselves at the head of their respective armies on the same day.

The force which Cope found upon his arrival at Stirling, and which had been collected for his expedition, consisted of twenty-five companies of foot, amounting altogether to fourteen hundred men, and some of Gardiner's dragoons. Leaving the dragoons, which could be of no use in a campaign among the mountains, behind him, Cope began his march towards the north on the twentieth, carrying along with him four field-pieces (one and a half pounders), as many cohorns, and a thousand stand of spare arms for the use of such of the well-affected Highlanders as might join him. He carried also with him a considerable number of black cattle for the use of the army. Only a part, however, of the bread which had been ordered had arrived; but so

anxious was Cope to obey his instructions, that he began his march with the limited supply he had received, after giving orders to forward the remainder as soon as it should arrive at Stirling.

Cope halted on the twenty-first at Crieff. He was here visited by the Duke of Athole, and his younger brother, Lord George Murray, the latter of whom, doubtless, little imagined he was to act the conspicuous part he afterward did, as commander of the prince's army. The duke attended in consequence of a notice which Cope had sent to him and the other leading adherents of the government, through, or in the neighbourhood of whose territories he meant to pass, requiring them to raise their men; but neither the duke nor the other chiefs who had been applied to seem to have been disposed to obey the call. Lord Glenorchy, who arrived shortly after the duke and his brother, excused himself on the ground that he had not had sufficient time. As Cope had calculated upon the junction of a considerable body of Highlanders on his route, he was exceedingly disappointed that his expectations were not likely to be realized, and would have instantly retraced his steps had the orders of government allowed him a discretionary power; but his instructions were too peremptory to admit of a return to Stirling. Seeing, therefore, no use for the large quantity of spare arms, he sent seven hundred of them back to Stirling castle. This was a judicious step, as from the want of carriages he could not have got them transported to Inverness.

On the twenty-second the army advanced to Amulrie, where it stopped for a supply of bread. Next day it proceeded to Tay bridge, and on the twenty-fourth reached Trinifuir. The army advanced to Dalnacardoch on the twenty-fifth of August. Here Cope was met by Captain Sweetenham, — the officer who had been

THE MACLEOD

taken prisoner when on his way to Fort William from Ruthven, and who had been released on his parole. This officer informed Sir John that he was carried to Glenfinnin, where he saw the rebels erect their standard, and that when he left them on the twenty-first they amounted to fourteen hundred men; that on the road to Dalwhinnie he had met several parties of Highlanders hastening to join them; and that on arriving at Dalwhinnie he had been informed that they were three thousand strong, and were in full march towards Corriearrack, where they intended to meet him and give him battle. Notwithstanding this alarming intelligence, Cope proceeded on his march, and arrived at Dalwhinnie next day. Here he received a letter from Lord-president Forbes, written at his seat of Culloden near Inverness, corroborating the intelligence received from Sweetenham of the advance of the rebels, and of their intention to meet him upon Corriearrack.

Corricarrack, of which the royal army had now come within sight, and over which it was Cope's intention to march into Lochaber, is a lofty mountain of immense extent, occupying no less than nine miles out of the eighteen that form the last day's march from Garviemore to Fort Augustus. It is extremely steep on the south side, and appears at a distance to rise almost as perpendicular as a wall. The ascent to the summit of this mountain on the south side, is by a road of seventeen traverses; and on the north side, the long descent to the level ground is carried on by traverses, resembling, in some respects, those on the south side. As there are several gullies and brooks on the south side, bridges have been thrown across, over which the road is carried. These tortuosities, rendered absolutely necessary from the nature of the ground, almost quadruple the real distance, which, from base to base,

does not exceed five miles. As the mountain was peculiarly fitted for the operations of Highlanders, it is evident that in attempting to cross Corriearrack, Cope, if attacked, would labour under every disadvantage; for while his men could not leave the road in pursuit of their assailants, the latter could keep a running fire from numerous positions, from which it would be impossible to dislodge them. Cope was warned by the president of the dangers he would run, and his fears were not a little increased by a report that, on arriving at the bridge of Snugborough, a dangerous pass on the north side of the mountain, he was to be opposed by a body of Highlanders; and that, while this party kept him employed, he was to be attacked in his rear by another body, which was to be sent round the west end of the hill.

Alarmed at the intelligence he had received, distracted by a variety of reports as to the strength of the enemy, and disgusted with the apathy of those on whose support he had relied, Cope called a council of war at Dalwhinnie, on the morning of the twenty-seventh of August, to which he summoned every field officer, and the commanders of the different corps of his little army. He would have acted more judiciously had he convened a council at Dalnacardoch, when he first received intelligence of the advance of the Highlanders. At this meeting, Cope laid before his officers the orders he had received from the secretary of state to march to the north, which were too positive to be departed from without the most urgent necessity. After some deliberation, the council was unanimously of opinion, that the original design of the general of marching to Fort Augustus over Corriearrack, was, under existing circumstances, quite impracticable. Having abandoned the design of crossing Corriearrack, the council next

considered what other course should be adopted. The wisest course certainly, if practicable, would have been to have marched back to Stirling, and to have guarded the passes of the Forth; but against this proposal it was urged, that the rebels, by marching down the side of Loch Rannoch, would be able to reach Stirling before the king's troops, and that, by breaking down the bridges, they would intercept them in their retreat. As it was impossible to remain at Dalwhinnie, no other course therefore remained, in the opinion of the council, but to march to Inverness. This opinion, which was reduced to writing, and signed by all the members of council, was delivered to Sir John Cope, who, acquiescing in its propriety, immediately issued an order to march. We must now advert to the proceedings of the prince and his friends.

Charles remained only one night at Glenfinnin. On the twentieth of August he marched to the head of Loch Lochie, where he encamped. At this place, a copy of the proclamation for his apprehension was brought him, which exasperated the Highlanders to such a degree that they insisted on a counter one being issued, offering a reward for the apprehension of "the Elector of Hanover." Charles remonstrated against such a step, but he was forced to yield, and accordingly put forth the following answer:[9]

"Charles, Prince of Wales, etc., Regent of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging:

"Whereas we have seen a certain scandalous and malicious paper published in the style and form of a proclamation, bearing date the sixth instant, wherein, under pretence of bringing to justice, like our royal ancestor King Charles the I of blessed memory, there is a reward of thirty thousand pounds sterling promised

to those who shall deliver us into the hands of our enemies, we could not but be moved with a just indignation at so insolent an attempt. And though, from our nature and principles, we abhor and detest a practice so unusual among Christian princes, we cannot but, out of a just regard to the dignity of our person, promise the like reward of thirty thousand pounds sterling to him, or those, who shall seize and secure till our farther orders, the person of the Elector of Hanover, whether landed or attempting to land in any part of his Majesty's dominions. Should any fatal accident happen from hence, let the blame be entirely at the door of those who first set the infamous example." This proclamation, which was dated from the "camp at Kinlocheill" was countersigned by Murray of Broughton, who had lately joined the prince, and had been appointed his secretary.

On the twenty-third, the prince advanced to Fassefern, the seat of Lochiel's brother, where he passed the night. At Loch Lochie, he was obliged, from the unwillingness of the Highlanders to encumber themselves, to leave a considerable quantity of ammunition, pick-axes, shovels, etc., which, after his departure, were seized by the garrison of Fort William, who besides burned the houses of the people in the vicinity and carried off their cattle. While at Fassefern, intelligence was received by the prince of the march of Sir John Cope from Stirling. Having previously sent off his baggage under an escort of two hundred Camerons towards Moy, in Lochaber, Charles put his army in motion on the twenty-fourth, and arrived at Moy on the following day. On the twenty-sixth, the prince crossed the water of Lochie with his army, and proceeded to the castle of Invergary, in which he took up his quarters for the night. During the night, he received

an express from Gordon of Glenbucket, acquainting him that Sir John Cope was considerably advanced in his march to the north, and that he intended to cross Corriearrack. About the same time, he was visited by Fraser of Gortleg, who came to him in name of Lord Lovat, to assure him of his lordship's services. Fraser advised him to march north, and raise the Frasers of Stratherrick; and assured him that Sir Alexander Macdonald, the laird of Macleod, and many of the Mackenzies, Grants, and Mackintoshes would join him; but the proposal was opposed by the Marquis of Tullibardine and Secretary Murray, the latter of whom considered the early possession of Edinburgh, where he alleged there were many persons ready to join the ranks of the insurgents, of more importance than any advantages that might be derived by remaining in the Highlands.

This opinion was adopted by Charles, who next morning proceeded to Abertarf in Glengary. He was joined at Low Bridge by 260 of the Stewarts of Appin, under the command of Stewart of Ardshiel, and at Aberchallader, near the foot of Corriearrack, by six hundred of the Macdonells of Glengary, under the command of Macdonell of Lochgary; and by a party of the Grants of Glenmoriston. With these accessions the force under Charles amounted to nearly two thousand men. Charles now held a council of war to deliberate upon the course he should pursue, — whether to advance and give battle to Cope, or postpone an engagement till he should receive additional strength. It was clearly the interest of Charles to meet his adversary with as little delay as possible, and as his forces already outnumbered those opposed to him, he could not doubt but that the result of an engagement would be favourable to his arms. The council, every member of which was animated with an

ardent desire to engage Cope, at once resolved to meet him. This resolution corresponded with the inclinations of the clans, all of whom, to use the expression of Fraser of Gortleg on the occasion, were "in top spirits," and making sure of victory.

The determination of the council, and the valorous enthusiasm of the clans, acting upon the ardent mind of the prince, created an excitement, to which even he. with all his dreams of glory and ambition, had before been a stranger. The generous and devoted people into whose hands he had committed the destinies of his house, struck with admiration by the condescension, and that easy yet dignified familiarity which never fails to secure respect, were ready to encounter any danger for his sake. No man knew better than Charles how to improve the advantages he had thus obtained over the minds and affections of these hardy mountaineers. Becoming, as it were, one of themselves, he entered into their views, — showed an anxiety to learn their language, which he daily practised, — and finally resolved to adopt their dress. This line of policy endeared him to the Highlanders, and to it may be ascribed the veneration in which his memory is still held by their descendants, at the distance of almost a century. Having in this way inspired his faithful Highlanders with a portion of his own natural ardour, they in their turn, by the enthusiasm they displayed, raised his expectations of success to the highest possible pitch. A remarkable instance of this was exhibited before commencing the march next morning, when, after putting on his Highland dress, he solemnly declared, when in the act of tying the latchets of his shoes, that he would not unloose them till he came up with Cope's army.

Desirous of getting possession of the defiles of Corrie-

arrack before Cope should ascend that mountain, Charles began his march from Aberchallader at four o'clock of the morning of the twenty-seventh of August. His army soon reached the top of the hill, and was beginning to descend on the south side, when intelligence was brought the prince, that Cope had given up his intention of crossing Corriearrack and was in full march for Inverness. Cope had put his army in motion the same morning towards Garviemore; but when his van reached Blarigg Beg, about seven miles and a half from Dalwhinnie, he ordered his troops to halt, to face about, and, in conformity with the opinion of his council, to to take the road to Inverness by Ruthven. To deceive Charles, Cope had left behind, on the road to Fort Augustus, part of his baggage, two companies of foot, and his camp colours. The news of Cope's flight (for it was nothing else) was received by the Highland army with a rapturous shout, which was responded to by the prince, who, taking a glass of brandy, drank "To the health of good Mr. Cope, and may every general in the usurper's service prove himself as much our friend as he has done." Every man, by the prince's orders, drank this toast in a glass of usquebaugh. The Highlanders immediately put themselves in motion, and marched down the traverses on the south side of the mountain with great celerity, as if in full pursuit of a flying enemy, on whose destruction they were wholly bent.

The Highland army continued the same rapid pace till it reached Garviemore, where it halted. A council of war was then held, at which various proposals were made for pursuing and intercepting the enemy; but none of them were agreed to. The council finally resolved to abandon the pursuit of Cope, — to march to the south, and endeavour to seize Edinburgh, the pos-

session of which was considered, particularly by Secretary Murray, as of the highest importance. This determination was by no means relished by the clans, who were eager for pursuing Cope, whose army they expected to have annihilated; but their chiefs having concurred in the resolution, they reluctantly acquiesced. A party of six hundred Highlanders, however, volunteered to follow Cope under cloud of night; and undertook to give a good account of his army, but the prince dissuaded them from the enterprise.

From Garviemore, Charles despatched Macdonald of Lochgary with a party of two hundred men to seize the small fort of Ruthven, in which there was a garrison of regular troops; but the vigilance of the commander rendered the attempt abortive, and the Highlanders were repulsed with a trifling loss. A party of Camerons, commanded by Doctor Cameron, was sent to the house of Macpherson of Cluny, the chief of the Macphersons, who commanded a company in the service of government, to apprehend him, and succeeded.

On the twenty-ninth of August, the Highland army was again put in motion, and advanced towards Dalnacardoch. At Dalwhinnie, they were rejoined by Doctor Cameron and his party, who brought along with them Macpherson of Cluny, who, after a short interview with the prince, promised to raise his clan for his service. On giving this assurance he was released, and went home to collect his men. Next day, Charles marched to the castle of Blair, which had been abandoned by the Duke of Athole, on his approach. The Marquis of Tullibardine took possession of the castle as his own property, and immediately assumed the character of an host, by inviting Charles and the Highland chiefs to supper. To make his guests as comfortable as possible, the marquis had written a letter from Dalnacar-

doch, to Mrs. Robertson of Lude, a daughter of Lord Nairne, desiring her to repair to the castle, to get it put in proper order, and to remain there to do the honours of the house on the prince's arrival.

At Blair Charles was joined by Lord Nairne, and several other Perthshire gentlemen; but the greater part of the resident gentry had fled on hearing of the entrance of the Highland army into Athole. Charles reviewed his army the morning after his arrival at the castle, when he found that a considerable number of his men were wanting. Some officers were immediately sent to bring them up, and the only reason they assigned for loitering behind was that they had been denied the gratification of pursuing Cope.

From Blair, Charles sent forward Lord Nairne, and Lochiel, with four hundred men, to take possession of Dunkeld, which they entered on the morning of the third of September. In this town they proclaimed the Chevalier. After remaining two days at the castle of Blair, Charles repaired on the second of September to the house of Lude, where he spent the night, and next day went to Dunkeld, whence he proceeded to Lord Nairne's house, on the road to Perth, where he dined. While at table, the conversation turning upon the character of the enterprise, and the peculiarity of the prince's situation, some of the company took occasion to express their sympathy for the prince's father, on account of the state of anxiety he would be in, from the consideration of those dangers and difficulties the prince would have to encounter. But Charles, without meaning to depreciate his father's cares, observed that he did not pity him half so much as his brother; "for," said he, "the king has been inured to disappointments and distresses, and has learnt to bear up easily under the misfortunes of life; but poor Harry! his young and

tender years make him much to be pitied, for few brothers love as we do."

Charles spent the night at Nairne house, and proceeded next day to Perth, which had been taken possession of by a party of Camerons the preceding evening. Attired in a superb dress of tartan, trimmed with gold, and mounted on Captain Scott's charger, Charles entered the "fair city," attended by several gentlemen on horseback. They immediately repaired to the cross, and proclaimed the Chevalier, after which ceremony Charles was conducted, amid the acclamations of the people to the house of the Viscount of Stormont, which had been provided for his residence while in Perth. The magistrates and some of the principal inhabitants, following the example set by many of the landed proprietors of the county, abandoned the city on the appearance of the Highlanders, and fled to Edinburgh. An advanced party under Macdonald of Keppoch had been sent forward to seize Dundee; but being informed by some of the inhabitants, who met him on the road, that his force was too small for the purpose, Keppoch applied for a reinforcement, which was accordingly sent off from Perth, about midnight, under Clanranald. These detachments entered Dundee at daybreak, and captured two vessels with arms and ammunition on board, which were sent up the Tay for the use of the army.

At Perth, Charles was joined by the Duke of Perth, the Lords Ogilvie and Strathallan, Robertson of Strown, Oliphant of Gask, and several other gentlemen; but the chief personage who rallied under Charles's standard at Perth, and was indeed among the first to appear there, was Lord George Murray, immediate younger brother to the Duke of Athole. He was conducted by his elder brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine, into the

presence of the prince. Lord George had taken a share in the insurrection of 1715, and was one of the few persons who joined the Spanish forces, which were defeated at Glenshiel in 1719. He went afterward abroad, and served several years as an officer in the King of Sardinia's army; but having obtained a pardon, he returned from exile, and was presented to George the First by his brother, the Duke of Athole. Lord George was tall in his person, and, though now past the meridian of life, retained all the qualities of a robust and vigorous constitution. Besides a natural genius for military operations, in which he had had considerable experience, Lord George was fertile in resources, indefatigable in application, and brave even to a fault. With sword in hand he was always the first to rush forward upon the enemy in the day of battle, often saying to his men, "I do not ask you, my lads, to go before, but to follow me." The accession therefore of such a man, at such a crisis, was of the highest importance to the Jacobite cause. But with all his high qualities, Lord George was proud, blunt, and imperious, and of an over-bearing disposition. Charles, when at Glenfinnin, had conferred the post of quarter-master-general of the army on O'Sullivan. Aware of the brilliant qualifications of Lord George, the prince, almost immediately on his arrival at Perth, appointed him lieutenant-general, to the great satisfaction of the clans, to whom he was favourably known.

Lord George appointed the Chevalier Johnstone, who had also joined the prince at Perth, his aide-de-camp, and immediately entered on his duties with alacrity. Though the Highlanders acted in complete subordination to their chiefs when in the field of battle, they had so little idea of military discipline, that they would absent themselves without permission, and

roam about the country. This happened more particularly on marches, when there was a scarcity of food, on which occasions they would spread themselves over the whole country, in straggling parties, in quest of provisions. The inconveniences and loss of time, and the great abuses to which such a practice had led, had been greatly felt in the former insurrection, and had been witnessed by Lord George himself. To prevent a recurrence of such evils during the present contest, the first thing Lord George did was to advise the prince to appoint proper persons to fill the commissariat department, by whose exertions an adequate supply of food might be provided for the use of the army, without which, he said, it would be impossible to keep the Highlanders together for any length of time. That no delay might take place in waiting for provisions, in forced marches, or in detached enterprises, which required despatch, he caused a considerable number of small knapsacks to be made, sufficient to contain a peck of meal each, which the men could carry on their backs without any inconvenience. A thousand of these knapsacks were sent to Crieff, for the use of the Athole men, who were to march south in that direction.[10]

The march of Charles into Athole had been so rapid and unexpected, that his friends in that district had had no time to gather any considerable force to join him on his route to Perth. He was, therefore, under the necessity of remaining a few days at Perth, to give his adherents time to raise their men. In mustering their tenants and vassals, some of them are said to have met with considerable difficulties from the unwillingness of their people to take up arms, and the Duke of Perth has been charged with the crime of shooting one or two of his tenants, who were refractory; but the charge does not appear sufficiently supported.

Another reason for Charles's stay in Perth was the want of money. His treasury had been completely drained by his liberal advances for the support of his army; and of the few thousand pounds which he brought with him from France, he had only one guinea remaining when he entered Perth. Taking the solitary coin from his pocket, he showed it to Kelly, one of the gentlemen who came over with him, and told him that it was all the money that now remained; but he added with an air of confidence, that the army had received a fortnight's pay in advance, and that before the expiration of another fortnight he would receive a fresh supply. In order to meet pecuniary demands, Charles had despatched a circular from Kinlochiel on the twenty-second of August to his friends in different parts of Scotland, soliciting an immediate supply; but up to the time of his arrival at Perth no money appears to have reached him. Shortly thereafter, however, his expectations began to be realized by some private pecuniary contributions sent by persons well affected to his cause, but who were afraid of openly declaring themselves. But Charles did not trust to such uncertain supplies to recruit his exhausted treasury. Besides compelling the city of Perth to contribute £500, he appointed persons in Perth, Dundee, and other towns in the counties of Perth and Angus, to collect the public money, by means of which, and the contributions of his friends, his coffers were speedily replenished.

During his stay at Perth, Charles devoted almost all his time to the disciplining and training of his men, in writing despatches, and in a variety of military details to which he had hitherto been unaccustomed. Though fond of amusement, he never allowed it to occupy much of his time; and if he accepted a convivial

invitation, it was more from a wish not to disoblige than from a desire to join in the festivities of his friends. Amid the occupations of the camp he did not, however, neglect the outward observances of religion. For the first time, it is believed, of his life, he attended the Protestant service at Perth, on Sunday, the eighth of September, rather it may be conjectured to please his Protestant friends, than from any predilection for a form of worship to which he was an entire stranger. The text chosen on this occasion by the preacher, a Mr. Armstrong, was from the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah, verses 1, 2: "For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land; and the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob. And the people shall take them, and bring them to their place; and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids: and they shall take them captives, whose captives they were; and they shall rule over their oppressors." From the nature of the text the reader will be at no loss to guess either its application or the distinctive religious denomination of the clergyman who selected it. The nonjuring Jacobite discourse delivered on the occasion in question would certainly form an extraordinary contrast with the democratic harangues to which Charles's great-grandfather, Charles the First, and his grand uncle, Charles the Second, were accustomed to listen from the mouths of the stern Covenanters.

While Charles was thus employed at Perth, Sir John Cope was marching from Inverness to Aberdeen. After leaving the direct road to Fort Augustus, Cope had proceeded by forced marches to Inverness, where he arrived on the twenty-ninth of August. Here he met the lord-president, who communicated to him a letter

he had received on his arrival in the north, from Sir Alexander Macdonald, dated from Tallisker, eleventh August, informing him of the names of the chiefs who had joined Charles, and requesting directions how to act in the event of the insurgent chiefs being forced to retire to the islands. After consulting with the president, Cope resolved to march back his army to Stirling, provided he could obtain a reinforcement of Highlanders from the Whig clans in the neighbourhood of Inverness. An application was accordingly made to the chiefs; but as it turned out ineffectual, Cope determined to march to Aberdeen and embark his troops for the Frith of Forth. The feelings of alarm and anxiety, with which he was agitated on this occasion, are thus described by himself in a letter which he wrote from Inverness, on the thirty-first of August, to Lord Milton the justice clerk: "I, from the beginning, thought this affair might become serious; and sorry I am that I was not mistaken; indeed, my lord, it is serious. I know your activity and ability in business, — the whole is at stake, — exert your authority, — lengths must be gone, — and rules and common course of business must yield to the necessity of the times, or it may soon be too late. So much fatigue of body and mind I never knew of before; but my health continues good, and my spirits do not flag. Much depends upon the next step we take. In this country the rebels will not let us get at them unless we had some Highlanders with us; and, as yet, not one single man has joined us, though I have lugged along with us three hundred stand of arms. No man could have believed that not one man would take arms in our favour, or show countenance to us; but so it is."

It is rather singular, that on the same day on which

the above-mentioned letter was written, the adherents of government at Edinburgh, who had hitherto derided the attempt of the prince, should have been at last aroused to a full sense of the danger they were in. Lulled by a false security, they had never, for a moment, doubted that Cope would be successful on his expedition in the north; but certain intelligence, brought to them by James Drummond or Macgregor, son of the celebrated Rob Roy, who arrived at Edinburgh on the twenty-sixth, began to open their eyes. With the object of throwing the government party in the capital off their guard, this man was despatched from the Jacobite camp in Lochaber to Edinburgh with the necessary instructions. Enjoying in some degree the confidence of the Whig party, he was the better fitted to impose upon them by his misrepresentations. When introduced to the public functionaries on his arrival, he stated that the Highland army was not fifteen hundred strong; that it was chiefly composed of old men and boys, who were badly armed, and that from what he saw and knew of them he was sure they would fly before Cope's army. Though unsuccessful, as will be seen, in this branch of his mission, he succeeded in another which he had volunteered to perform, by getting one Drummond, a Jacobite printer, to print the prince's proclamations and manifestoes, which he took care to distribute throughout the city among the friends of the cause. When apprised of the fact of the publication, the magistrates, without suspecting Macgregor as the importer of these treasonable documents, issued a proclamation, offering a large reward for the discovery of the printer.

Edinburgh, at the period in question, and for many years afterward, was confined within narrow limits.

It had never been properly fortified; and its castle, which majestically overtops the city, and forms the western boundary of that division now called the "old town," could afford it little security. On the south and on the east, the ancient city was bounded by a wall varying from ten to twenty feet high. On the north side, a lake, easily fordable, called the North Loch, now drained and converted into beautiful gardens, was its only defence. In several places the old wall had been built upon, so that dwelling houses formed part of the wall, but these erections were overlooked by rows of higher houses without the city. There were no cannon mounted upon the wall, but in some places it was strengthened by bastions and embrasures. The standing force of the city consisted of two bodies, called the Town Guard and the Trained Bands, neither of which now exist. The first, which, at the time we are now treating of, amounted to 126 men, acted in lieu of a police; and though pretty well versed in the manual and platoon exercise, were, from their being generally old men, unfit for military duty. The Trained Bands, or Burgher Guard, which was composed of citizens, and in former times amounted to a considerable number of men, did not at the period in question exceed a thousand. Anciently, the tallest men were armed with pikes, and those of a lower stature with firelocks, and both were provided with defensive armour. The captain of each company, eight in number, instructed his men one day in every week in the exercise of arms; but the pikes and armour were afterward laid aside, and since the Revolution the Trained Bands had appeared in arms only once in the year, to celebrate the king's birthday, on which occasion they were furnished with arms for the service of the day from a magazine belonging to the city.

As it was obvious that, under these circumstances,

no effectual resistance could be opposed to the entrance of an army into the city, the provost and magistrates held a meeting on the twenty-seventh of August, at which some of the principal citizens attended, to devise means of defence. At this meeting it was resolved to repair the walls and to raise a regiment of a thousand men, to be paid by a voluntary contribution of the inhabitants. A standing committee was, at the same time, appointed to carry this resolution into effect, and to advise with the lord-justice-clerk and other judges then in town, and the Crown lawyers, as to such other steps as might be considered necessary in the present crisis. To obtain the requisite permission to embody the proposed regiment, an application was sent to London by the lord-advocate; and leave to that effect was granted on the fourth of September.

Up to the thirty-first of August, no certain intelligence had been received at Edinburgh of the movements of the Highlanders; but in the evening of that day the inhabitants were thrown into a state of great alarm by receiving intelligence of the march of the Highland army into Athole, and of the ominous departure of Cope for Inverness. Instantly the drum beat to arms, and the town council having met, they ordained that the keys of the city should be lodged with the captain of the city guard, and ordered sentries to be placed at each of the gates, and the city guard to be augmented. As an additional security, Hamilton's dragoons, then quartered in the vicinity of the city, were kept under arms that night. The repairs of the city walls were commenced; orders were issued to place cannon on them, and to throw up a ditch on the north side of the castle, and arms were sent from the city magazine to Leith to arm its inhabitants. These preparations, and the hurry and bustle with which it may be supposed they

were attended, may appear ludicrous when contrasted with the result; but the public functionaries were bound to put the city in as defensible a state as their means would admit of, and without the least possible delay.

It would have been perhaps fortunate for the honour of the city, if on the present occasion the civic authorities had been allowed, in conjunction with the committee which had been named, to follow out such measures as they might have deemed necessary for defending the city; but, unluckily, there existed a party consisting of ex-magistrates and councillors, who, by the course they adopted, brought disgrace upon the city. This cabal, at the head of which was ex-Provost Drummond, had been ousted from the town-council by Stewart, the present provost, and his friends, who, for five years, had kept possession of the municipal government, to the entire exclusion of Drummond and his party. Desirous of regaining their lost power, they availed themselves of the present opportunity, the elections being at hand, to instill distrust of the existing magistracy into the minds of the electors, by representing the members of the town-council as Jacobitically inclined, and as indifferent to the preservation of the city from the rebels. To ingratiate themselves still farther with the electors, the majority of whom were Whigs, and warmly attached to the government, they affected great zeal for the defence of the city; and, as if its preservation depended solely upon them, they presented, on the sixth of September, a petition to the provost, signed by about a hundred citizens, praying that they, the subscribers, might be authorized to form themselves into an association for the defence of the city; that they might be allowed to name their own officers; and that an application should be made by the provost to General Guest, for a supply of arms from the castle for their use.

This petition was laid before an extraordinary meeting of the council next day, and the law officers of the Crown having given their opinion that the council could legally authorize an arming of the inhabitants for the contemplated purpose, they acceded to its prayer, with the exception of that part which craved that the volunteers should have the nomination of their own officers, a privilege which the provost reserved to himself, in virtue of his office of chief magistrate. To ascertain the names of the citizens who were willing to serve as volunteers, a paper was lodged, on the ninth of September, in the Old-church aisle, and all loyal persons were invited by handbills to subscribe. Four hundred and eighteen persons joined this association, and were supplied with arms from the castle. Simultaneous with the formation of the association, the magistrates exerted themselves to raise the regiment they had petitioned for, the warrant for which was received by the provost on the eighth of September; but their efforts were ineffectual, not being able, after a week's recruiting, to raise two hundred men. This paltry force, however, was named the Edinburgh regiment, to distinguish it from the volunteer association.

Hitherto the repairs of the city walls had been steadily progressing, and, to the great scandal of the more religious part of the inhabitants, no cessation took place even upon the Sunday; but although the persons employed upon the walls might plead necessity in justification of their work on the day of rest, they seem to have overlooked that necessity on the tenth of September, the day when the city elections commenced. So great was the anxiety of all classes to ascertain the names of the craftsmen sent up by the different incorporations to the council to represent them, that a total suspension of every business took place, and the magistrates, who

felt little difficulty in procuring men to work upon the Sunday, now saw the works almost entirely deserted by the artificers employed upon them.

A few days after receipt of the intelligence of the march of the Highlanders into the low country, Captain Rogers, an aide-de-camp of Sir John Cope, arrived at Edinburgh from Inverness, with instructions to General Guest to send down a number of transports to Aberdeen to carry his men to the southern shores of the Frith of Forth. These vessels sailed from Leith roads on the tenth, under convoy of a ship of war, and their return was expected with the greatest anxiety by the inhabitants of Edinburgh, who were continually looking up to the vanes and weather-cocks to ascertain the direction of the wind. On the same day, Provost Stewart directed the volunteers to prepare a list of twenty or thirty persons whom they thought proper to command the companies, that he might name the captains. A deputation accordingly waited upon him with the required list, and on the following day he selected six, among whom was Drummond, his predecessor in office. Each of the captains was allowed to appoint two lieutenants for his own company.

The volunteers being thus organized, they were regularly drilled twice every day. Cannon were brought up from Leith and mounted on the walls, and the works were proceeded in with renewed activity under the superintendence of Maclaurin, the celebrated mathematician, who had furnished the designs.

CHAPTER IV

BATTLE OF PRESTON

As early as the seventh of September, Charles had received notice of Cope's intention to embark at Aberdeen; and, that he might not be anticipated by Cope in his design of seizing the capital, he began to make arrangements for leaving Perth for the south. Before the eleventh his force was considerably augmented by tributary accessions from the uplands of Perthshire, and, as his coffers had been pretty well replenished, he resolved to take his departure that day. With this view, Lord George Murray sent an express to his brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine, on the seventh, requesting him to march with such forces as he had collected, on the morning of Tuesday the tenth, by Keinacan and Tay bridge, so as to reach Crieff next day, that he might be able to form a junction with the main army at Dunblane or Doune the following day.

Charles, accordingly, left Perth on Wednesday the eleventh day of September on his route to the south. The van of the army, or rather a few of each of the clans, reached Dunblane that night, in the neighbourhood of which they encamped. The greater part of the men lagged behind, and did not get up till next day, when they appeared to be greatly fatigued. As this result was imputed to the good quarters they had enjoyed for the last eight days at Perth, and the want of exercise, it was resolved that henceforth the army should encamp in the open air, and be kept constantly in mo-

tion. On his march to Dunblane, the prince was joined by Macdonald of Glencoe, with sixty of his men, and by James Drummond or Macgregor of Glengyle at the head of 255 Macgregors, the retainers of Macgregor of Glencairnaig.

Having been obliged to halt a whole day for the remainder of his army, Charles remained in his camp till the thirteenth, on which day he crossed the Forth at the Fords of the Frew, almost in the face of Gardiner's dragoons, who retired towards Stirling on the approach of the Highland army, without attempting to dispute its passage. While passing by Doune, Charles received particular marks of attention from some of the ladies of Menteith, who had assembled in the house of Mr. Edmonstone of Cambuswallace, in the neighbourhood of Doune to see him as he passed. A collation had been provided for him, in the expectation that he would have entered the house; but he courteously excused himself, and, stopping before the house without alighting from his horse, drank a glass of wine to the healths of his fair observers. The daughters of Mr. Edmonstone, who served the prince on this occasion, respectfully solicited the honour of kissing his hand, — a favour which he readily granted; but he was called upon to accord a favour of a still more important character by Miss Robina Edmonstone, cousin to the daughter of the host. The favour sought was the liberty "to pree his royal highness's mou." Charles, not being sufficiently acquainted with broad Scotch, was at a loss to comprehend the nature of the request; but on its being explained to him, he instantly caught her in his arms, and instead of allowing her to perform the operation, he himself imprinted a thousand kisses on her fair and blushing face, to the great amusement of the spectators.

The passage of the Forth had always been considered

one of the most daring and decisive steps which a Highland army could take. In their own country the Highlanders possessed many natural advantages over an invading foe, which gave them almost an absolute assurance of success in any contest, even with forces greatly superior in numbers; and, in the adjoining Lowlands, they could, if worsted, easily retreat to their fastnesses; but their situation was very different on the south of the Forth, where they were more particularly exposed to be attacked by cavalry, — a species of force which they chiefly dreaded, and from which they could, if routed, scarcely expect to escape. It is said, but not upon sufficient authority, that some of Charles's officers at first demurred to the propriety of exposing the army to the dangers of a Lowland campaign in the south, but that he would listen to no arguments against the grand design he had formed of seizing the capital. To cheer his men in the hazardous enterprise, the dangers of which now, for the first time, began to develop themselves, the prince is reported, on arriving on the bank of the river, to have brandished his sword in the air, and pointing to the other side, to have rushed into the water, and darting across, to have taken his station on the opposite bank, on which he stood till all the detachments had crossed, and congratulated each successive detachment as it arrived. In crossing the Forth, the prince may be said to have passed the Rubicon. He had not only committed himself in a struggle with a powerful government, but he had, with intrepid daring, and with a handful of men, entered a country whence retreat was almost impossible.

After passing the Forth, Charles, accompanied by a party of his officers, proceeded to Leckie house, the seat of Mr. Moir, a Jacobite gentleman, where he dined; but the proprietor was absent, having been seized by a

party of dragoons, and carried off to Stirling castle the preceding night, in consequence of information having been received at the castle that he was preparing to receive and entertain the prince at his house. The army passed the night on the moor of Sauchie, a few miles south from the Ford. The prince himself slept in Bannockburn house, belonging to Sir Hugh Paterson, a zealous Jacobite. During this day's march great abuses were committed by the men in taking and shooting sheep, which the Duke of Perth and others did everything in their power to prevent. Lochiel was so enraged at the conduct of his men, that he is said to have shot one of them himself, as an example to deter the rest.

Next day Charles put his army in motion towards Falkirk. In passing by Stirling, a few shot were fired at them from the castle, but without damage. Lord George Murray sent a message tc the magistrates of the town, requiring a supply of provisions, on receiving which they immediately opened the gates, and having given notice of the demand to the inhabitants, the dealers in provisions went out and met the Highland army near Bannockburn, where it halted for a short time, and sold a considerable quantity of commodities to the men. The army, after receiving this supply, resumed its march, and finally halted on a field a little to the eastward of Falkirk, and the parks of Callender, where it passed the night. Charles took up his abode in Callender's house, the seat of the Earl of Kilmarnock, who entertained him with the greatest hospitality, and gave him assurances of devoted attachment to his cause. By the earl, Charles was informed that Gardiner's dragoons, who, on his approach to Falkirk, had retired in the direction of Linlithgow, were resolved to dispute the passage of Linlithgow bridge with him,

and that they had encamped that night in its neighbourhood.

On receiving this intelligence, Charles immediately held a council of war, at which it was resolved to attack the dragoons during the night. For this purpose a detachment of a thousand well-armed men were despatched at one o'clock in the morning under the command of Lord George Murray. They marched with the utmost order and regularity, and not a hush was to be heard among them; but they were disappointed in their object, as the dragoons had retired during the night to Kirkliston, eight miles west from Edinburgh. The detachment entered Linlithgow before break of day, where they were joined by the prince and the rest of the army about ten o'clock that morning. The day was Sunday; but the prince does not appear to have gratified the burghers by going to church as he had done the citizens of Perth the preceding Sunday. He, however, partook of a repast which some of the Jacobite inhabitants had prepared for him. The provost preserved a neutrality by absenting himself from town; but his wife and daughters are said to have paid their respects to the prince by waiting upon him at the cross, attired in tartan gowns, and wearing white cockades, and doing themselves the honour of kissing his hand.

Advancing from Linlithgow about four o'clock in the afternoon, the Highland army encamped on a rising ground, nearly four miles east from Linlithgow, near the twelfth mile-stone from Edinburgh, where they passed the night. The prince slept in a house in the neighbourhood. Next morning, Monday, the sixteenth, Charles renewed his march eastwards, and reached Corstorphine, the dragoons all the while retiring before him as he approached.

Charles was now within three miles of Edinburgh,

and could not proceed farther in a direct line without exposing his army to the fire of the castle guns. To avoid them, he led it off in a southerly direction, towards Slateford, — a small village about the distance of a mile from Corstorphine. The prince fixed his head-quarters at Gray's mills, between two and three miles from the city, and his troops bivouacked during the night of the sixteenth in an adjoining field called Gray's Park.

When intelligence of the prince's departure from Perth reached Edinburgh, the anxiety for the arrival of Cope increased every hour. The Jacobites, of whom there was a respectable party in the city, on the other hand, longed for the arrival of Charles. The Whigs, or rather the ex-members of the town-council, had, for several days, kept the city in a state of military turmoil, in the hope, no doubt, that Cope would arrive in sufficient time to prevent their courage being put to the test; but fortune, which favours the brave, was unkind to these pseudo-heroes, who were destined to exhibit a specimen of the most abject and humiliating cowardice. No certain information of the movements of the Highland army reached Edinburgh till the morning of Sunday the fifteenth, when a messenger brought intelligence that the insurgents were in full march upon the capital, and that their van had already reached Kirkliston. The last part of this information was, however, incorrect.

At the time the messenger arrived, all the armed volunteers, in terms of an order given the preceding evening, were assembled in the college yards. About ten o'clock, Drummond, the ex-provost, who was captain of a company, which, from its being partly composed of students belonging to the university, was called the college company, made his appearance. He entered the guard-room, and after some consultation with his

brother officers, came out, and placing himself opposite the right of his company, where some of the more forward volunteers stood, he proceeded to address them. He informed them of the advance of the Highland army; that it had been proposed to General Guest to make a stand with the two dragoon regiments, and fight the insurgents on their way to the city; but that the general did not think the measure advisable, as there was not a body of foot to act with the dragoons to draw off the fire of the enemy; that he (Drummond) knowing that he could answer for 250 volunteers, if Provost Stewart would allow fifty of the town-guard to go along with them, had asked the general if that number would be sufficient; and that Guest had given him an answer in the affirmative. "Now, gentlemen," said the ex-provost, "you have heard the general's opinion, judge for yourselves. If you are willing to risk your lives for the defence of the capital of Scotland and the honour of your country, I am ready to lead you to the field." The volunteers, to whom Drummond seemed particularly to address himself, threw up their hats in the air, at the conclusion of this address, and began an huzza, in which the rest of the company joined.

Having obtained the consent of his own company to march, he went to the other companies in succession; but instead of advising them to follow the example which his own men had set, he told them that though his men were, all of them, going out to conquer or die with him, yet that such a resolution was only proper for young unmarried men, who were at liberty to dispose of their own lives. It is evident that Drummond's object was to intimidate the persons he addressed, and to prevent them from acceding to his own proposal, and that his view in making it to Guest was to obtain a reputation for bravery. Accordingly very few of the

volunteers in the other companies would give their consent; but Drummond's company becoming clamorous, the others seemed to yield, and Drummond despatched a messenger to the castle to inform General Guest that the volunteers were ready to march out with the dragoons and engage the rebels. At the request of the general, Provost Stewart ordered a detachment of the town guard and the Edinburgh regiment to accompany the volunteers. General Guest, on being informed of this, directed Hamilton's dragoons, who were encamped on Leith links, to march through the city, and join Gardiner's regiment at Corstorphine.

For the first time since they had been embodied, the volunteers now loaded their pieces. In terms of an order which had been issued the preceding day, the fire-bell was rung as a signal of approaching danger, and the volunteers, who had assembled in the college yards, instantly repaired in a body to the Lawnmarket, the appointed place of rendezvous. Most of the city ministers had enrolled themselves as volunteers, but they were absent on the present occasion, being engaged celebrating divine service in their respective churches. *Semper parati* being the motto they had adopted in their new vocation, they had gone to church equipped *a la militaire*, and, when the alarm bell sounded, were preaching with their swords by their sides. In an instant the churches were deserted by the worshippers, and a universal panic seized all classes on learning the intelligence. The Lawnmarket, where the volunteers had drawn up waiting for the arrival of Hamilton's dragoons, was soon crowded with inhabitants, many of them, the wives, sisters, mothers, fathers, and friends of the devoted volunteers who clustered around them, and implored them, by ties the most sacred, to desist from the dangerous enterprise they were about to engage in.

The attention of the people was diverted for a time by the appearance of Hamilton's dragoons who rode up the street. They were received with huzzas by the volunteers, and the dragoons in passing huzzaed in return, and with a gasconading air clashed their swords against each other as they went along. The alarm among the relatives and friends of the volunteers was increased, and nothing was to be heard but the cries and lamentations of unhappy females, — the mothers and sisters of the patriotic volunteers. These doughty champions, who never had any serious intention of exposing their persons to the blows of the Highland broadsword, moved in appearance by the tears, the entreaties, and embraces of their female friends, seemed rather inclined to allow the dragoons to shift for themselves; but neither the expostulations of the men (for the male relations of the volunteers were equally solicitous with the females in dissuading the volunteers from marching) nor the tears of the women had any effect upon the volunteers of Drummond's company, who had agreed to march.

An order being given to march, Drummond placed himself at the head of the volunteers of his company, and marched them up the Lawnmarket and down the West-bow to the Grassmarket. They were followed by an immense crowd of people lamenting their unhappy fate. Only forty-two privates of Drummond's company followed him, but he certainly expected some accessions from the other companies. Not a single individual, however, belonging to them, accompanied him. Finding himself and his little party alone, Drummond halted his men near the West-port, and sent a lieutenant, named Lindsay, back to the Lawnmarket to ascertain the reason why the volunteers, who were expected to follow, had not joined their

associates. Lindsay, on his return to the Lawnmarket, found the volunteers, who still remained in the street, in great confusion. Several of the officers told Lindsay that they themselves were willing to follow Drummond and his party, but that very few of their men would consent to march out. On the other hand, many of the privates complained that they could not get one officer to lead them. After some altercation, Lindsay, with the assistance of Captain Sir George Preston, and some other officers, succeeded in collecting 141, who professed a willingness to march with the dragoons, out of about 350 volunteers who had remained behind; Lindsay led off these to the Grassmarket, where they joined Drummond's party; but if we are to believe a pamphleteer of the day, even this small force was diminished by the way. The descent of *The Bow* presenting localities and facilities equally convenient for desertion, the volunteers are said to have availed themselves of these on their march. The author alluded to humourously compared this falling off " to the course of the Rhine, which rolling pompously its waves through fertile fields, instead of augmenting its course, is continually drawn off by a thousand canals, and at last becomes a small rivulet, which loses itself in the sands before it reaches the ocean." The foot now assembled, comprehending the town guard and the Edinburgh regiment, which numbered only 189 men, amounted, exclusive of officers, to 563 men.

As Drummond, whose sole object in enacting the hero was to acquire popularity, and thereby promote his return to power, had no intention of fighting, he must have felt gratified at the prospect which the tardiness of the volunteers to march afforded him of abandoning the enterprise; but the unexpected junction of the

party under Lindsay put his pretended zeal to the test. When deliberating upon the course he should pursue, an incident occurred, which, he no doubt imagined, would save him the shame of a public exposure. Alarmed at the departure of the volunteers, Doctor Wishart, principal of the University of Edinburgh, with others of the city clergy, proceeded to the Grassmarket, and with great earnestness addressed the volunteers, and conjured them, by everything they held most sacred and dear, to reserve themselves for the defence of the city by remaining within the walls. Principal Wishart addressed himself particularly to the young men of Drummond's company, some few of whom affected to contemn his advice; but it was perfectly evident that there was scarcely an individual present, who did not in his heart desire to follow the advice of the ministers. The volunteers, however, had offered to serve without the walls, and they could not withdraw with honour. But Drummond, their commander, instantly fell upon an expedient to save, as he thought, his own and their reputation. Judging rightly, as it afterward turned out, that the provost of the city would entertain the same sentiments as the clergy, he, upon their departure, and after a short consultation with his officers, sent a lieutenant with a message to the provost to this effect, that the volunteers had resolved not to march out of town without his express permission, and that they would wait for his answer. To the great satisfaction of Drummond and of his men, who were at first ignorant of the nature of the message, an answer was returned by Provost Stewart, stating that he was much opposed to the proposal of marching out of town, and was glad to find that the volunteers had resolved to remain within the walls. No sooner was this answer received than Drummond returned with

his men to the college-yards, where they were dismissed for a time; and thus ended one of the most ridiculous exhibitions of gasconading folly and cowardly imbecility that can well be imagined. The town guard, and the men of the Edinburgh regiment, however, although shamefully deserted by their companions in arms, marched out of the city on receiving an order to that effect from the provost, and joined the dragoons at Corstorphine, about four miles west from Edinburgh, where the regiments of Hamilton and Gardiner formed a junction.

Seeing no appearance of the enemy, Colonel Gardiner retired at sunset with the two regiments of dragoons, to a field between Edinburgh and Leith, to pass the night, leaving a party of his men behind him to watch the motions of the Highlanders; and the foot returned at the same time to the city. To guard the city during the night, six or seven hundred men, consisting of the trained bands, the volunteers, and some auxiliaries from the towns of Musselburgh and Dalkeith, were stationed along the walls and at the different gates; but the night passed quietly off. The same night, Brigadier-General Fowkes arrived from London. Early next morning, he received an order from General Guest, to take the command of the dragoons, and to march to a field a little to the east of Coltbridge, about two miles west from the city, where he was joined in the course of the forenoon by the town guard, and the Edinburgh regiment.

For the first time during their march, the Highlanders descried some dragoons as they approached Corstorphine, on the morning of the sixteenth of September. This was the party which Colonel Gardiner had left at Corstorphine the preceding evening. To reconnoitre the dragoons, a few young well-armed

Highlanders were sent forward on horseback, and ordered to go as near as possible to ascertain their number. These young men rode closely up to the dragoons, and by way of frolic or defiance, for they could have no intention of attacking the dragoons, fired their pistols at them. To the utter astonishment of the Highlanders, the dragoons, instead of returning the fire, became panic-struck, and instantly wheeling about, galloped off towards the main body. Participating in the fears of his advanced guard, General Fowkes immediately ordered a retreat, and between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, the inhabitants of Edinburgh beheld the singular spectacle of two regiments of dragoons flying along the "Long Dykes," now the site of Princes Street, when no one pursued. The faint-hearted dragoons stopped a short time at Leith, and afterward proceeded to Musselburgh. The foot returned to the city.

Several hours before the retreat of the dragoons, a gentleman of the city had brought in a message from the prince, requiring a surrender, and threatening, in case of resistance, to subject the city to all the rigours of military usage; but no regard was paid to the message, and although the messenger had the imprudence (for which he was sent to prison by the provost) to communicate the message to the inhabitants, they manifested no great symptoms of alarm, relying, probably, on the resistance of the dragoons. After these had fled, however, the people became exceedingly clamorous, and crowds of the inhabitants ran about the streets crying, that since the dragoons had fled, it was madness to think of resistance. The provost, on returning from the West-port, where he had been giving orders after the retreat of the dragoons, was met by some of the inhabitants, who implored him not to persist

in defending the town, for if he did, they would all be murdered! He reproved them for their impatience, and proceeded to the Goldsmiths' hall, where he met the magistrates and town-council and a considerable number of the inhabitants, who were there assembled. After some consultation, a deputation was sent to the law-officers of the Crown, requiring their attendance and advice; but it was ascertained that these functionaries had left the town. The captains of the trained bands and volunteers were next sent for, and called upon for their opinion as to defending the city, but they were at a loss how to advise. The meeting was divided upon the question whether the town should be defended or not, and in the course of the debate much acrimony was displayed by the speakers on both sides. The hall being too small to contain the crowd which collected, the meeting adjourned to the New-church aisle, which was immediately filled with people, the great majority of whom called out for a surrender, as they considered it impossible to defend the town. Some persons attempted to support the contrary view, but they were forced to desist by the noise and clamour of the majority.

While matters were in this train, a letter was handed in from the door addressed to the lord-provost, magistrates, and town-council of Edinburgh. The letter was put into the hands of Orrock, the deacon of the shoemakers, who, on opening it, informed the meeting that it was subscribed "Charles, P. R." On hearing this announcement, the provost stopped Deacon Orrock, who was about to read the letter, said he would not be a witness to the reading of such a communication, and rising from his seat, left the place, accompanied by the greater part of the council and a considerable number of the inhabitants. The provost re-

turned to the council chamber with his friends, and sent for the city assessors to give their opinion as to whether the letter should be read or not. One of these lawyers appeared, but, afraid to commit himself, stated that the matter was too grave for him to give an opinion upon. The provost still demurred, but the assembly getting impatient to know the contents of the letter, his lordship tacitly consented to its being read. It was as follows:

"From our Camp, 16th September, 1745.

"Being now in a condition to make our way into the capital of his Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, we hereby summon you to receive us, as you are in duty bound to do; and in order to do it, we hereby require you, upon receipt of this, to summon the town-council and take proper measures for securing the peace and quiet of the city, which we are very desirous to protect. But if you suffer any of the usurper's troops to enter the town, or any of the cannon, arms, or ammunition in it (whether belonging to the public or private persons) to be carried off, we shall take it as a breach of your duty, and a heinous offence against the king and us, and shall resent it accordingly. We promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the particular property of every one of his Majesty's subjects. But if any opposition be made to us, we cannot answer for the consequences, being firmly resolved at any rate to enter the city; and in that case, if any of the inhabitants are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war."

After this letter was read, the clamour for surrender became more loud and general than ever, and, agree-

ably to the wish of the meeting, a deputation, consisting of four members of the council, was appointed to wait upon the prince immediately, and to request that he would grant the citizens time to deliberate on the contents of his letter.

While the meeting was debating the question as to the reading of Charles's letter, an incident occurred, which, it is believed, gave the finishing stroke to the mock heroism of the volunteers. After the retreat of the dragoons, the volunteers had assembled, on the ringing of the fire-bell, at their respective posts, to be in readiness to obey any instructions which might be sent to them. Four companies, out of the six, were drawn up in the Lawnmarket between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, but before they had sufficient time to recover from the agitation into which they had been thrown by the call to arms, a well-dressed person, unknown to those assembled, entered the Lawnmarket from the West Bow, in great haste, mounted upon a gray horse, and, galloping along the lines of the volunteers, intimated, in a voice sufficiently high to be heard by the astonished volunteers, that he had seen the Highland army, and that it amounted to sixteen thousand men! This "lying messenger did not stop to be questioned, and disappeared in a moment." Captain Drummond, soon after this occurrence, arrived upon the spot, and, after consulting with his brother officers, marched up the four companies to the castle, where they delivered up their arms. In a short time the other companies also went up and surrendered their arms, and were followed by the other bodies of militia that had received arms from the castle magazine.

About eight o'clock at night, the four deputies left the city to wait upon the prince at Gray's Mill; but

they had scarcely cleared the walls, when intelligence was received by the lord-provost and magistrates (who still remained assembled in the council-chamber) that the transports with General Cope's army on board had arrived off Dunbar, about twenty-seven miles east from Edinburgh, and that as the wind was unfavourable for bringing them up the Frith, Cope intended to land his troops at Dunbar and march to the relief of the city. As this intelligence altered the aspect of affairs, messengers were immediately despatched to bring back the deputies before they should reach their destination, but they did not overtake them. The deputies returned to the city about ten o'clock, and brought along with them a letter of the following tenor, signed by Secretary Murray: —

"His Royal Highness, the prince regent, thinks his manifesto, and the king his father's declaration, already published, a sufficient capitulation for all his Majesty's subjects to accept with joy. His present demands are, to be received into the city as the son and representative of the king his father, and obeyed as such when there. His Royal Highness supposes, that since the receipt of his letter to the provost no arms or ammunition have been suffered to be carried off or concealed, and will expect a particular account of all things of that nature. Lastly, he expects a positive answer before two o'clock in the morning, otherwise he will think himself obliged to take measures conform."

This letter gave rise to a lengthened discussion in the town-council, which ended in a resolution to send out a second deputation to the prince, and, under the pretence of consulting the citizens, to solicit a few hours' delay. The deputies accordingly set out in a coach to the prince's headquarters at two o'clock in

the morning, and had an interview with Lord George Murray, whom they prevailed upon to second their application for delay. His lordship went into the prince's apartment, and one of the deputies overheard him endeavouring to persuade Charles to agree to the request made by them, but the prince refused. Lord George, having reported the failure of his attempt to the deputies, was induced by them to return and make another trial, but he was again unsuccessful. Charles then requested that the deputies should be ordered away, and being offended at Lord George Murray's entreaties, he desired Lord Elcho, the son of the Earl of Wemyss, who had just joined him, to intimate the order to them, which he accordingly did.

Apprehensive of the speedy arrival of Cope, Charles resolved not to lose a moment in obtaining possession of the capital. He saw that no effectual resistance could be made by the inhabitants in case of an assault; but as opposition might exasperate the Highlanders, and make them regardless of the lives of the citizens, he proposed to his officers that an attempt should be made to carry the city by surprise, which, if successful, would save it from the horrors which usually befall a city taken by storm. The plan of a surprise having been resolved upon, a select detachment of about nine hundred men, under Lochiel, Keppoch, Ardshiel, and O'Sullivan, was sent under cloud of night towards the city. They marched with great secrecy across the Borough-moor, and reached the southeastern extremity of the city, where they halted. A party of twenty-four men was thereupon despatched with directions to post themselves on each side of the Netherbow port, the eastern or lower gate of the city, and another party of sixty men was directed to follow them half-way up St. Mary's Wynd, to be ready to support them, while a third body,

still farther removed, and finally the remainder of the detachment, were to come up in succession to the support of the rest. In the event of these dispositions succeeding without observation from the sentinels on the walls, it had been arranged that a Highlander in a Lowland garb should knock at the wicket and demand entrance as a servant of an officer of dragoons, who had been sent by his master to bring him something he had forgotten in the city; and that if the wicket was opened, the party stationed on each side of the gate should immediately rush in, seize the guard, and make themselves masters of the gate. The different parties having taken the stations assigned them without being perceived by the guards, the disguised Highlander knocked at the gate and stated his pretended errand; but the guard refused to open the gate, and the sentinels on the walls threatened to fire upon the applicant if he did not instantly retire. The commanders were puzzled by this unexpected refusal, and were at a loss how to act. It was now near five o'clock, and the morning was about to dawn. The alternative of an assault seemed inevitable, but fortunately for the city, the Highlanders were destined to obtain by accident what they could not effect by stratagem.

While the party at the gate was about to retire to the main body in consequence of the disappointment they had met with, their attention was attracted by the rattling of a carriage, which, from the increasing sound, appeared to be coming down the High Street towards the Netherbow port. It was, in fact, the hackney coach which had been hired by the deputies, which was now on its way back to the Canongate, where the hackney coaches used by the citizens of Edinburgh were at that time kept. The Highlanders stationed at the gate stood prepared to enter, and as soon as it was opened

to let out the coach, the whole party, headed by Captain Evan Macgregor, a younger son of Macgregor of Glencairnaig, rushed in, made themselves masters of the gate, and disarmed the guard in an instant. In a short time the whole of the Highlanders followed, with drawn swords and targets, and, setting up one of those hideous and terrific yells with which they salute an enemy they are about to encounter, marched quickly up the wide and spacious street in perfect order, in expectation of meeting the foe; but to the surprise, no less than the pleasure of the Highlanders, not a single armed man was to be seen in the street. With the exception of a few half-awakened spectators, who, roused from their slumbers by the shouts of the Highlanders, had jumped out of bed, and were to be seen peeping out at the windows in their sleeping habiliments, all the rest of the inhabitants were sunk in profound repose.

Having secured the guard-house and disarmed the guards who were within, the Highlanders took possession of the different gates of the city and of the stations upon the walls. They made the guards prisoners, and replaced them with some of their own men, with as much quietness as if they had been merely changing their own guard. The Highlanders conducted themselves on this occasion with the greatest order and regularity, no violence being offered to any of the inhabitants, and the utmost respect was paid to private property.

Anxious about the result, Charles had slept only two hours, and that without taking off his clothes. At an early hour he received intelligence of the capture of the city, and immediately prepared to march towards it with the rest of the army. To avoid the castle guns, the prince took a circuitous direction to the south of the city, till he reached Braidsburn, when, turning

towards the city, he marched as far as the Buck Stone, a mass of granite on the side of the turnpike road, near Morning-side. On reaching this stone, he drew off his army by a solitary cross-road, leading to Causewayside and Newington. Arriving near Priestfield, he entered the king's park by a breach, which had been made in the wall, and proceeded to the Hunter's bog, a deep valley between Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags, where his army was completely sheltered from the guns of the castle.

Charles was now within the royal domains, and little more than a quarter of a mile from the royal palace of Holyrood, where his grandfather, James the Second, when Duke of York, had, about sixty years before, exercised the functions of royalty, as the representative of his brother Charles the Second. Sanguine as he was, he could scarcely have imagined that within the space of one short month, from the time he had raised his standard in the distant vale of the Finnin, he was to obtain possession of the capital of Scotland, and take up his residence in the ancient abode of his royal ancestors. Exulting as he must have done, at the near prospect which such fortuitous events seemed to afford him of realizing his most ardent expectations, his feelings received a new impulse, when, on coming within sight of the palace, he beheld the park crowded with people, who had assembled to welcome his arrival. Attended by the Duke of Perth and Lord Elcho, and followed by a train of gentlemen, Charles rode down the Hunter's bog, on his way to the palace. On reaching the eminence below St. Anthony's well, he alighted from his horse for the purpose of descending on foot into the park below. On dismounting he was surrounded by many persons who knelt down and kissed his hand. He made suitable acknowledgments

for these marks of attachment, and after surveying for a short time the palace and the assembled multitude which covered the intervening grounds, he descended into the park below amid the shouts of the spectators, whose congratulations he received with the greatest affability. On reaching the foot-path in the park, which, from its having been much frequented by the Duke of York, afterward James the Second, when he resided at Holyrood, obtained the name of the Duke's walk, Charles stopped for a few minutes to exhibit himself to the people.

In person Charles appeared to great advantage. His figure and presence are described by Mr. Home, an eye-witness, as not ill suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the bloom of youth, tall and handsome, and of a fair and ruddy complexion. His face, which in its contour exhibited a perfect oval, was remarkable for the regularity of its features. His forehead was full and high, and characteristic of his family. His eyes, which were large, and of a light blue colour, were shaded by beautifully arched eyebrows, and his nose, which was finely formed, approached nearer to the Roman than the Grecian model. A pointed chin, and a mouth rather small, gave him, however, rather an effeminate appearance; but on the whole, his exterior was extremely prepossessing, and his deportment was so graceful and winning, that few persons could resist his attractions. The dress, which he wore on the present occasion, was also calculated to set off the graces of his person to the greatest advantage in the eyes of the vulgar. He wore a light coloured peruke, with his hair combed over the front. This was surmounted by a blue velvet bonnet, encircled with a band of gold lace, and ornamented at top with the Jacobite badge, a white satin cockade. He wore a tartan short coat, and on his breast

the star of the order of St. Andrew. Instead of a plaid, which would have covered the star, he wore a blue sash wrought with gold. His small clothes were of red velvet. To complete his costume, he wore a pair of military boots, and a silver-hilted broadsword.

Charles remained some time in the park among the people, but as he could not be sufficiently seen by all, he mounted his horse, a fine bay gelding which the Duke of Perth had presented to him, and rode off slowly towards the palace. Every person was in admiration at the splendid appearance he made on horseback, and a simultaneous huzza arose from the vast crowd which followed the prince in triumph to Holyrood house. Overjoyed at the noble appearance of the prince, the Jacobites set no bounds to their praises of the royal youth. They compared him to King Robert Bruce, whom, they said, he resembled in his figure as they hoped he would in his fortune. The Whigs, on the other hand, regarded him differently; and though they durst not avow their opinions to the full extent, and were forced to admit that Charles was a goodly person, yet they observed that even in that triumphant hour when about to enter the palace of his fathers, the air of his countenance was languid and melancholy, — that he looked like a gentleman and a man of fashion, but not like a hero or a conqueror. Their conclusion was, that the enterprise he had undertaken was above the pitch of his mind, and that his heart was not great enough for the sphere in which he moved.

On arriving in front of the palace Charles alighted from his horse, and entering the gate proceeded along the piazza within the quadrangle, towards the Duke of Hamilton's apartments.[11] When the prince was about to enter the porch, the door of which stood open to receive him, a gentleman stepped out of the crowd, drew

his sword, and raising it aloft, walked up-stairs before Charles. The person, who took this singular mode of joining the prince, was James Hepburn of Keith, a gentleman of East Lothian. When a very young man he had been engaged in the rebellion of 1715, not from any devoted attachment to the house of Stuart (for he disclaimed the hereditary indefeasible right of kings, and condemned the government of James the Second) but because he considered the union, which he regarded as the result of the Revolution, as injurious and humiliating to Scotland, and believed that the only way to obtain a repeal of that measure was to restore the Stuarts. In speaking of the union, he said that it had made a Scottish gentleman of small fortune nobody, and that rather than submit to it, he would die a thousand deaths. For thirty years he had kept himself in readiness to take up arms to assert, as he thought, the independence of his country, when an opportunity should occur. Honoured and beloved by both Jacobites and Whigs, the accession to the Jacobite cause of this accomplished gentleman, whom Mr. Home describes as a model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and honour, was hailed by the former with delight, and deeply regretted by the latter, who lamented that a man whom they so highly revered, should sacrifice himself to the visionary idea of a repeal of the union between England and Scotland.

In his way to the palace Charles had been cheered by the acclamations of the people; and on his entering that memorable seat of his ancestors, these acclamations were redoubled by the crowd which filled the area in front. On reaching the suite of apartments destined for his reception, he exhibited himself again to the people from one of the windows with his bonnet in his hand, and was greeted with loud huzzas by the multi-

tude assembled in the courtyard below. He replied to these congratulations by repeated bows and smiles.

To complete the business of this eventful day, the proclaiming of the Chevalier de St. George at the cross alone remained. The Highlanders who entered the city in the morning, desirous of obtaining the services of the heralds and the pursuivants, to perform what appeared to them an indispensable ceremony, had secured the persons of these functionaries. Surrounded by a body of armed men, the heralds and pursuivants, several of whom had probably been similarly employed on the accession of " the Elector of Hanover," proceeded to the cross, a little before one o'clock afternoon, clothed in their robes of office, and proclaimed King James, amid the general acclamations of the people. The windows of the adjoining houses were filled with ladies, who testified the intensity of their feelings by straining their voices to the utmost pitch, and with outstretched arms waving white handkerchiefs in honour of the day. Few gentlemen were however to be seen in the streets or in the windows, and even among the common people there were not a few who preserved a stubborn silence. The effect of the ceremony was greatly heightened by the appearance of Mrs. Murray of Broughton, a lady of great beauty, who, to show her devoted attachment to the cause of the Stuarts, appeared decorated with a profusion of white ribbons, sat on horseback near the cross with a drawn sword in her hand, during all the time the ceremony lasted.

The principal personage who acted on this occasion was one Beatt, a schoolmaster in the city, of Jacobite principles. Along with the commission of regency and the declaration of the Chevalier de St. George, he read a manifesto in the name of Charles as regent, dated at Paris, sixteenth May, 1745. It ran thus: —

"By virtue and authority of the above commission of regency granted unto us by the king, our royal father, we are now come to execute his Majesty's will and pleasure, by setting up his royal standard, and asserting his undoubted right to the throne of his ancestors.

"We do, therefore, in his Majesty's name, and pursuant to the tenor of his several declarations, hereby grant a free, full, and general pardon for all treasons, rebellions, and offences whatsoever, committed at any time before the publication hereof against our royal grandfather, his present Majesty, and ourselves. To the benefit of this pardon we shall deem justly entitled all such of his Majesty's subjects as shall testify their willingness to accept of it, either by joining our forces with all convenient diligence; by setting up his royal standard in other places; by repairing for our service to any place where it shall be so set up, or at least by openly renouncing all pretended allegiance to the usurper, and all obedience to his orders, or to those of any person or persons commissioned, or employed by him, or acting avowedly for him.

"As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of his Majesty's just rights, and the prosperity of their country, we shall take effectual care to have them rewarded according to their respective degrees and merits. And we particularly promise, as aforesaid, a full, free, and general pardon to all officers, soldiers, and sailors, now engaged in the service of the usurper, provided that, upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle against his Majesty's forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty, since they cannot but be sensible that no engagements entered into with a foreign usurper, can dispense with the alle-

giance they owe to their natural sovereign. And, as a further encouragement to them to comply with their duty and our commands, we promise to every such officer the same, or a higher post in our service, than that which at present he enjoys, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to him at the time of his declaring for us; and to every soldier, trooper, and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seaman and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for, and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year's pay to be given to each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdoms shall be in a state of tranquillity.

"We do hereby further promise and declare in his Majesty's name, and by virtue of the above said commission, that as soon as ever that happy state is obtained, he will by and with the advice of a free Parliament, wherein no corruption nor undue influence whatsoever shall be used to bias the votes of the electors or the elected, settle, confirm, and secure all the rights ecclesiastical and civil, of each of his respective kingdoms, his Majesty being fully resolved to maintain the church of England as by law established, and likewise the Protestant churches of Scotland and Ireland conformable to the laws of each respective kingdom; together with a toleration to all Protestant dissenters, he being utterly averse to all persecution and oppression whatsoever, particularly on account of conscience and religion. And we ourselves, being perfectly convinced of the reasonableness and equity of the same principles, do, in consequence hereof, further promise and declare, that all his Majesty's subjects shall be by him and us maintained in the full enjoyment and possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and especially of all churches, universities, colleges, and schools, conformable to the laws of the land, which

shall ever be the unalterable rule of his Majesty's government and our own actions.

"And that this our undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconvenience as possible to the king's subjects, we do hereby authorize and require all civil officers and magistrates now in place and office, to continue, till further notice, to execute their respective employments in our name, and by our authority, as far as may be requisite for the maintenance of common justice, order and quiet, willing, and requiring them, at the same time, to give strict obedience to such orders and directions as may, from time to time, be issued out by us, or those who shall be vested with any share of our authority and power.

"We also command and require all officers of the revenue, customs, and excise, all tax-gatherers of what denomination soever, and all others who may have any part of the public money in their hands, to deliver it immediately to some principal commander authorized by us, and take his receipt for the same, which shall be to them a sufficient discharge; and in case of refusal, we authorize and charge all such our commanders to exact the same for our use, and to be accountable for it to us, or our officers for that purpose appointed.

"And having thus sincerely and in the presence of Almighty God, declared the true sentiments and intentions of the king, our royal father, as well as our own, in this expedition, we do hereby require and command all his loving subjects to be assisting to us in the recovery of his just rights, and of their own liberties; and that all such, from the ages of sixteen to sixty, do forthwith repair to his Majesty's royal standard, or join themselves to such as shall first appear in their respective shires for his service; and also, to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and

whatever else may be necessary for the use of our forces.

" Lastly, we do hereby require all mayors, sheriffs, and other magistrates of what denomination soever, their respective deputies, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration at the market-crosses of their respective cities, towns, and boroughs, and there to proclaim his Majesty, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for the neglect of so necessary and important a duty; for as we have hereby graciously and sincerely offered a free and general pardon for all that is past, so we, at the same time, seriously warn all his Majesty's subjects, that we shall leave to the rigour of the law all those who shall from henceforth oppose us, or wilfully and deliberately do, or concur in any act or acts, civil or military, to the hurt or detriment of us, our cause or title, or to the destruction, prejudice, or annoyance of those who shall, according to their duty and our intentions, thus publicly signified, declare and act for us."

While the heralds were proclaiming King James at the market-cross of Edinburgh, Sir John Cope, who, as has been stated, arrived in the mouth of the Frith of Forth on the sixteenth, was landing his troops at Dunbar. The two regiments of dragoons had continued their inglorious flight during the night, and had reached that town, on the morning of the seventeenth, " in a condition," to use the soft expression of Mr. Home, " not very respectable." On arriving at Musselburgh, they had halted for a short time, and afterward went to a field between Preston Grange and Dauphinston, where they dismounted for the purpose of passing the night; but between ten and eleven o'clock they were aroused by the cries of a dragoon who had fallen into an old coal-pit full of water. Conceiving that the Highlanders

were at hand, they instantly mounted their horses and fled towards Dunbar with such precipitation and alarm, that they dropped their arms by the way. Next morning the road to Dunbar was found to be strewed with the swords, pistols, and firelocks, which had fallen from the nerveless hands of these cowards. Colonel Gardiner, who had slept during the night in his own house at Preston, near the field where the dragoons were to bivouac, was surprised, when he rose in the morning, to find that his men were all gone. All that he could learn was that they had taken the road to Dunbar. He followed them with a heavy heart, which certainly did not lighten when he saw the proofs they had left behind them of their pusillanimity. These arms were collected and conveyed in covered carts to Dunbar, where they were again put into the hands of the craven dragoons.

The landing of Cope's troops was finished on Wednesday, the seventeenth of September; but the disembarkation of the artillery and stores was not completed till the eighteenth. On the last mentioned day, Mr. Home, the author of the history of the Rebellion of 1745, arrived at Dunbar, and was introduced to Sir John, as a " volunteer from Edinburgh," desirous of communicating to him such information as he had personally collected respecting the Highland army. He told the general, that being curious to see the Highland army and its leader, and to ascertain the number of the Highlanders, he had remained in Edinburgh after they had taken possession thereof; that, for the last mentioned purpose, he had visited the different parts they occupied in the city, and had succeeded in making a pretty exact enumeration; that with the same view he had perambulated the Hunter's bog, where the main body was encamped, and as he found the Highlanders

sitting in ranks upon the ground taking a meal, that he was enabled to calculate their numbers with great certainty. He stated, from the observations he had been thus enabled to make, that the whole Highlanders within and without the city did not amount to two thousand men; but that he had been told that several bodies of men from the north were on their march, and were expected very soon to join the main body at Edinburgh. In answer to a question put by Cope, as to the appearance and equipment of the Highlanders, Home stated that most of them seemed to be strong, active, and hardy men, though many of them were of a very ordinary size; and if clothed like Lowlanders, would, in his opinion, appear inferior to the king's troops; but the Highland garb favoured them much, as it showed their naked limbs, which were strong and muscular; and their stern countenances and bushy uncombed hair gave them a fierce, barbarous, and imposing aspect. With regard to their arms, Mr. Home said that they had no artillery of any sort but one small unmounted iron cannon, lying upon a cart, drawn by a little Highland pony; that about fourteen or fifteen hundred of them were armed with firelocks and broadswords; that their firelocks were of all sorts and sizes, consisting of muskets, fusees, and fowling pieces; that some of the rest had firelocks without swords, while others had swords without firelocks; that many of their swords were not Highland broadswords but French; that one or two companies, amounting to about a hundred men, were armed, each of them with the shaft of a pitchfork, with the blade of a scythe fastened to it, resembling in some degree the Lochaber axe. Mr. Home, however, added, that all the Highlanders would soon be provided with firelocks, as the arms belonging to the trained bands of the city had fallen into their hands. Before

the informant took leave, Cope expressed his sense of the service conferred, from the accurate intelligence he had received, by many compliments.

At Dunbar, General Cope was joined by some judges and lawyers, who had fled from Edinburgh on the approach of the Highlanders. They did not, however, enter the camp as fighting men, but with the intention of continuing with the king's army, as anxious and interested spectators of the approaching conflict. Cope found a more efficient supporter in the person of the Earl of Home, then an officer in the guards, who considered it his duty to offer his services on the present occasion. Unlike his ancestors, who could have raised in their own territories a force almost equal to that now opposed to Sir John Cope, this peer was attended by one or two servants only, a circumstance which gave occasion to many persons to mark the great change in the feudal system which had taken place in Scotland, in little more than a century.

Desirous of engaging the Highland army before the arrival of their expected reinforcements, General Cope left Dunbar on the nineteenth of September, in the direction of Edinburgh. The cavalry, infantry, cannon, and baggage-carts, which extended several miles along the road, gave a formidable appearance to this little army, and attracted the notice of the country people, who, having been long unaccustomed to war and arms, flocked from all quarters to see an army on the eve of battle; and with infinite concern and anxiety for the result beheld the uncommon spectacle. The army halted on a field to the west of the town of Haddington, sixteen miles east from Edinburgh. As it was supposed that the Highlanders might march in the night time, and by their rapid movements surprise the army, a proposal was made in the evening, to the general, to

employ some of the young men who followed the camp, to ride betwixt Haddington and Duddingstone, during the night, so as to prevent surprise. This proposal was approved of by Cope, and sixteen young men, most of whom had been volunteers at Edinburgh, offered their services. These were divided into two parties of eight men each; one of which, subdivided into four parties of two men each, set out at nine o'clock at night, by four different roads that led to Duddingstone. These parties returned to the camp at midnight, and made a report to the officer commanding the piquet, that they had not met with any appearance of the enemy. The other party then went off, subdivided as before, by the different routes, and rode about till daybreak, when six of them returned and made a similar report, but the remaining two who had taken the coast road to Musselburgh, did not make their appearance at the camp, having been made prisoners by an attorney's apprentice, who conducted them to the rebel camp at Duddingstone! The extraordinary capture of these doughty patroles, one of whom was Francis Garden, afterward better known as a lord of session, by the title of Lord Gardenstone, and the other Mr. Robert Cunningham, known afterward as General Cunningham, is thus humourously detailed by the reviewer before alluded to.

"The general sent two of the volunteers who chanced to be mounted, and knew the country, to observe the coast road, especially towards Musselburgh. They rode on their exploratory expedition, and, coming to that village which is about six miles from Edinburgh, avoided the bridge to escape detection, and crossed the Eske, it being then low water, at a place nigh its junction with the sea. Unluckily there was at the opposite side a snug thatched tavern, kept by a cleanly old woman called Luckie F——, who was eminent for the excellence

of her oysters and sherry. The patroles were both *bon-vivants;* one of them whom we remember in the situation of a senator, as it is called, of the college of justice, was unusually so, and a gay, witty, agreeable companion besides. Luckie's sign and the heap of shells deposited near her door proved as great a temptation to this vigilant forlorn-hope as the wine-house to the abbess of Andonillet's muleteer. They had scarcely got settled at some right *Pandores*, with a bottle of sherry, as an accompaniment, when, as some Jacobite devil would have it, an unlucky north-country lad, a writer's (*i. e.* attorney's) apprentice, who had given his indentures the slip, and taken the white-cockade, chanced to pass by on his errand to join Prince Charlie. He saw the two volunteers through the window, knew them, and guessed their business; he saw the tide would make it impossible for them to return along the sands as they had come. He therefore placed himself in ambush upon the steep, narrow, impracticable bridge, which was then and for many years afterward, the only place of crossing the Eske, ' and how he contrived it,' our narrator used to proceed, ' I never could learn, but the courage and assurance of the province from which he came are proverbial. In short, the Norland whipper-snapper surrounded and made prisoners of my two poor friends, before they could draw a trigger.' "

Cope resumed his march on the morning of the twentieth of September, following the course of the post-road to Edinburgh, till he came near Haddington, when he led off his army along another road, nearer the coast, by St. Germains and Seaton. His object in leaving the post-road was to avoid some defiles and enclosures which would have hindered, in case of attack, the operations of his cavalry. In its march the army was followed by a number of spectators, all anxious to witness

the expected combat; but they were assured by the officers that as the army was now rendered complete by the junction of the horse and foot, the Highlanders would not venture to engage. As some persons who ventured to express a different opinion were looked upon with jealousy, it is not improbable that the officers who thus expressed themselves did not speak their real sentiments.

On leaving the post-road the general sent forward the Earl of Loudon, his adjutant-general, with Lord Home and the quartermaster-general, to select ground near Musselburgh, on which to encamp the army during the night; but this party had not proceeded far when they observed some straggling parties of Highlanders advancing. The Earl of Loudon immediately rode back at a good pace, and gave Sir John the information just as the van of the royal army was entering the plain betwixt Seaton and Preston, known by the name of Gladsmuir. Judging the ground before him a very eligible spot for meeting the Highlanders, the general continued his march along the high road to Preston, and halted his army on the moor where he formed his troops in order of battle, with his front to the west. His right extended towards the sea in the direction of Port Seaton, and his left towards the village of Preston. These dispositions had scarcely been taken when the whole of the Highland army appeared.

The disembarkation of the royal army, and the advance of Cope towards Edinburgh, were known to Charles in the course of Thursday, the nineteenth. Judging it of importance that no time should be lost in meeting Cope and bringing him to action, Charles had left Holyrood house on the evening of that day, and had proceeded to Duddingstone, near which place his army was encamped. Having assembled a council of war,

he proposed to march next morning and give battle to Sir John Cope. The members of the council having signified their acquiescence, the prince then asked the Highland chiefs how they thought their men would conduct themselves on meeting a commander who had at last mustered courage to meet them. As Macdonald of Keppoch had served in the French army, and was considered, on that account, to be a fit judge of what the Highlanders could do against regular troops, he was desired by the other chiefs to give his opinion. Keppoch accordingly proceeded to answer the interrogatory of the prince. He began by observing that as the country had been long at peace, few or none of the private men had ever seen a battle, and that it was not therefore very easy to form an opinion as to how they would behave; but that he would venture to assure his Royal Highness that the gentlemen of the army would be in the midst of the enemy, and that as the clans loved both the cause and their chiefs, they would certainly share the danger with their leaders. Charles thereupon declared that he would lead on the Highlanders himself, and charge at their head; but the chiefs checked his impetuosity by pointing out the ruin that would befall them if he perished in the field, though his army should be successful. They declared that, should he persist in his resolution, they would return home and make the best terms they could for themselves. This remonstrance had the desired effect upon the young Chevalier, who agreed to take a post of less danger.

According to the calculation of Home, which has been alluded to, the Highland army, at the date of the capture of Edinburgh, did not exceed two thousand men; but it was increased to nearly 2,400 men, by a party of 150 Maclauchlans who joined it on the eighteenth of September, and by an accession of 250 Athole men on the

following day. This force was further augmented by the Grants of Glenmoriston, who joined the army at Duddingstone on the morning of Friday, the twentieth. In pursuance of the resolution of the council, the prince put himself at the head of his army on that morning, and presenting his sword, exclaimed, "My friends, I have flung away the scabbard!" This was answered by a loud huzza, on which the army marched forward in one column of three files or ranks towards Musselburgh. Passing the Eske by the bridge of Musselburgh, the army proceeded along the post-road towards Pinkie. On arriving opposite the south side of Pinkie gardens, Lord George Murray, who led the van, received information that Sir John Cope was at or near Preston, and that his intention probably was to gain the high grounds of Fawside near Carberry. As there was no time to deliberate or wait for orders, and as Lord George, who was very well acquainted with these grounds, considered the occupation of them by the Highlanders as of great importance, he struck off to the right at Edgebuckling-Brae, and passing through the fields by the west side of Walleyford, gained the eminence in less than half an hour, where he waited for the rear.

From Fawside hill the prince descried the army of Cope drawn up in the manner before described, but its position being different from that anticipated, Charles drew off his army towards the left, and descending the hill in the direction of Tranent, entered again upon the post-road at some distance to the west of the village, along which he continued his march. On approaching Tranent the Highlanders were received by the king's troops with a vehement shout of defiance, which the Highlanders answered in a similar strain. About two o'clock in the afternoon the Highland army halted on an eminence called Birsley Brae, about half a mile to

the west of Tranent, and formed in order of battle about a mile from the royal forces.

In the expectation that the Highlanders were advancing by the usual route through Musselburgh, Cope had taken up the position we have described with his front to the west; but as soon as he observed the Highlanders on the heights upon his left he changed his front to the south. This change of position, while it secured Cope better from attack, was not so well calculated for safety as the first position was in the event of a defeat. On his right was the east wall of a park, belonging to Erskine of Grange, which extended a considerable way from north to south, and still farther to the right was the village of Preston. The village of Seaton was on his left, and the village of Cockenzie and the sea in his rear. Almost immediately in front was a deep ditch filled with water, and a strong and thick hedge. Farther removed from the front, and between the two armies was a morass, the ends of which had been drained, and were intersected by numerous cuts. And on the more firm ground at the ends were several small enclosures, with hedges, dry stone walls, and willow trees.

As the Highlanders were in excellent spirits, and eager to close immediately with the enemy, Charles felt very desirous to comply with their wishes; but he soon ascertained, by examining some people of the neighbourhood, that the passage across the morass, from the nature of the ground, would be extremely dangerous if not altogether impracticable. Not wishing, however, in a matter of such importance to trust altogether to the opinion of the country people, Lord George Murray ordered Colonel Ker of Gradon, an officer of some military experience, to examine the ground, and to report. Mounted upon a little white pony he descended alone into the plain below, and with the greatest coolness and

deliberation surveyed the morass on all sides. As he went along the morass several shots were fired at him, by some of Cope's men, from the sides of the ditches; but he paid so little regard to these annoyances that on coming to a dry stone wall which stood in his way he dismounted, and making a gap in it led his horse through. After finishing this perilous duty he returned to the army, and reported to the lieutenant-general that he considered it impracticable to pass the morass and attack the enemy in front, without risking the whole army, and that it was impossible for the men to pass the ditches in a line.

While his lieutenant-general was, in consequence of this information, planning a different mode of attack, the prince himself was moving with a great part of his army towards Dauphinstone on Cope's right. Halting opposite Preston tower he seemed to threaten that flank of the English general, who, thereupon, returned to his original position with his front to Preston, and his right towards the sea. As Lord George Murray considered that the only practicable mode of attacking Cope was by advancing from the east, he led off part of the army about sunset through the village of Tranent, and sent notice to the prince to follow him with the remainder as quickly as possible. When passing through the village Lord George was joined by fifty of the Camerons, who had been posted by O'Sullivan in the churchyard at the foot of Tranent. This party, being within half cannon shot of Cope's artillery, had been exposed during the afternoon to a fire from their cannon, and one or two of the Camerons had been wounded. To frighten the Highlanders, who, they imagined, had never seen cannon before, Cope's men huzzaed at every discharge; but the Camerons remained in their position, till, on the representation of Lochiel, who went and viewed the

ground, and found his men unnecessarily exposed, they were ordered to retire in the direction of Tranent. O'Sullivan, who was in the rear when this order was given, came up on the junction of the party, and asking Lord George the meaning of the movement he was making, was told by him, that as it was not possible to attack the enemy with any chance of success on the west side of the village, he had resolved to assail them from the east, and that he would satisfy the prince that his plan was quite practicable; that for this purpose he had ordered the army to march to the east side of the village, where there were good dry fields covered with stubble, on which the men could bivouac during the night; and that with regard to the withdrawal of the party which O'Sullivan had posted in the churchyard, they could be of no service there, and were unnecessarily exposed. On being informed of the movement made by Lord George Murray, Charles proceeded to follow him, but it was dark before the rear had passed the village. To watch Cope's motions on the west, Charles left behind the Athole brigade, consisting of five hundred men, under Lord Nairne, which he posted near Preston above Colonel Gardiner's parks.

After the Highland army had halted on the fields to the east of Tranent, a council of war was held, at which Lord George Murray proposed to attack the enemy at break of day. He assured the members of the council that the plan was not only practicable, but that it would in all probability be attended with success; that he knew the ground himself, and that he had just seen one or two gentlemen who were also well acquainted with every part of it. He added, that there was indeed a small defile at the east end of the ditches, but if once passed there would be no farther hindrance, and though, from being obliged to march in a column, they would

necessarily consume a considerable time on their march, yet when the whole line had passed the defile they would have nothing to do but face to the left, form in a moment, and commence the attack. Charles was highly pleased with the proposal of the lieutenant-general; which having received the unanimous approbation of the council, a few piquets were, by order of Lord George, placed around the bivouac, and the Highlanders, after having supped, wrapped themselves up in their plaids, and lay down upon the ground to repose for the night. Charles, taking a sheaf of pease for a pillow, stretched himself upon the stubble, surrounded by his principal officers, all of whom followed his example. Before the army went to rest, notice was sent to Lord Nairne to leave his post with the Athole brigade at two o'clock in the morning as quietly as possible. To conceal their position from the English general, no fires or lights were allowed, and orders were issued and scrupulously obeyed that strict silence should be kept, and that no man should stir from his place till directed.[12]

When Cope observed Charles returning towards Tranent, he resumed his former position with his front to the south, having thus, in the course of a few hours, been obliged, by the unrestrained evolutions of the Highlanders, to shift his ground no less than four times. He now began to perceive that his situation was not so favourable as he had imagined, and that while the insurgents could move about at discretion, select their ground, and choose their time and mode of attack, he was cramped in his own movements and could act only on the defensive. The spectators, who felt an interest in the fate of his army, and who had calculated upon certain success to Cope's arms during the day, now, that night was at hand, began to forebode the most

gloomy results. Instead of a bold and decided movement on the part of Cope to meet the enemy, they observed that he had spent the day in doing absolutely nothing, — that he was in fact hemmed in by the Highlanders, and forced at pleasure to change his position at every movement they were pleased to make. They dreaded that an army which was obliged to act thus upon the defensive, and which would, therefore, be obliged to pass the ensuing night under arms, could not successfully resist an attack next morning from men, who, sheltered from the cold by their plaids, could enjoy the sweets of repose and rise fresh and vigorous for battle.

To secure his army from surprise during the night, Cope placed advanced piquets of horse and foot along the side of the morass, extending nearly as far east as the village of Seaton. He, at same time, sent his baggage and military chest down to Cockenzie under a guard of forty men of the line and all the Highlanders of the army, consisting of four companies, viz., two of newly raised men belonging to Loudon's regiments, and two additional companies of Lord John Murray's regiment, which had been diminished by desertion to fifteen men each. Although the weather had been very fine, and the days were still warm, yet the nights were now getting cold and occasionally frosty. As the night in question, that of Friday, the twentieth of September, was very cold, Cope ordered fires to be kindled along the front of his line, to keep his men warm. During the night he amused himself by firing off, at random, some cohorns, probably to alarm the Highlanders or disturb their slumbers, but these hardy mountaineers, if perchance they awoke for a time, disregarded these empty bravadoes, and fell back again into the arms of sleep.

In point of numbers the army of Cope was rather

inferior to that of Charles; but many of the Highlanders were badly armed, and some of them were without arms. The royal forces amounted altogether to about twenty-three hundred men; but the number in the field was diminished to twenty-one hundred by the separation of the baggage-guard which was sent to Cockenzie. The order of battle formed by Cope along the north side of the morass was as follows: He drew up his foot in one line, in the centre of which were eight companies of Lascelles's regiment, and two of Guise's. On the right were five companies of Lee's regiment, and on the left the regiment of Murray, with a number of recruits for different regiments at home and abroad. Two squadrons of Gardiner's dragoons formed the right wing, and a similar number of Hamilton's composed the left. The remaining squadron of each regiment was placed in the rear of its companions as a reserve. On the left of the army, near the wagon-road from Tranent to Cockenzie, were placed the artillery, consisting of six or seven pieces of cannon and four cohorns, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Whiteford, and guarded by a company of Lee's regiment, commanded by Captain Cochrane. Besides the regular troops there were some volunteers, consisting principally of small parties of the neighbouring tenantry, headed by their respective landlords. Some seceders, actuated by religious zeal, had also placed themselves under the royal standard.

Pursuant to the orders he had received, Lord Nairne left the position he had occupied during the night at the appointed hour, and rejoined the main body about three o'clock in the morning. Instead of continuing the order of march of the preceding night, it had been determined by the council of war to reverse it. The charge of this movement was entrusted to Colonel Ker, who had signalized himself by the calm intrepidity with

which he had surveyed the marsh on the preceding day. To carry this plan into effect, Ker went to the head of the column, and, passing along the line, desired the men to observe a profound silence, and not to stir a step till he should return to them. On reaching the rear he ordered it to march from the left, and to pass close in front of the column, and returning along the line, he continued to repeat the order till the whole army was in motion. This evolution was accomplished without the least confusion, and before four o'clock in the morning the whole army was in full march.

The Duke of Perth, who was to command the right wing, was at the head of the inverted column. He was attended by Hepburn of Keith, and by Mr. Robert Anderson, son of Anderson of Whitbrough, who, from his intimate knowledge of the morass, was sent forward to lead the way. A little in advance of the van was a select party of sixty men doubly armed, under the command of Macdonald of Glenalladale, major of the regiment of Clanranald, whose appointed duty it was to seize the enemy's baggage. The army proceeded in an easterly direction till near the farm of Ringanhead, when, turning to the left, they marched in a northerly direction through a small valley which intersects the farm. During the march the utmost silence was observed by the men, not even a whisper being heard; and lest the trampling of horses might discover their advance, the few that were in the army were left behind. The ford or path across the morass was so narrow that the column, which marched three men abreast, had scarcely sufficient standing room, and the ground along it was so soft, that many of the men were almost at every step up to the knees in mud. The path in question, which was about two hundred paces to the west of the stone-bridge afterward built across Seaton mill-dam,

led to a small wooden bridge which had been thrown over the large ditch which ran through the morass from east to west. This bridge, and the continuation of the path on the north of it, were a little to the east of Cope's left. From ignorance of the existence of this bridge, — from oversight, or from a supposition that the marsh was not passable in that quarter, — Cope had placed no guards in that direction, and the consequence was, that the Highland army, whose march across could have been effectually stopped by a handful of men, passed the bridge and cleared the marsh without interruption.

The army was divided into two columns or lines, with an interval between them. After the first line had got out of the marsh, Lord George Murray sent the Chevalier Johnstone, one of his aides-de-camp, to hasten the march of the second, which was conducted by the prince in person, and to see that it passed without noise or confusion. At the remote end of the marsh there was a deep ditch, three or four feet broad, over which the men had to leap. In jumping across this ditch, Charles fell upon his knees on the other side, and was immediately raised by the Chevalier Johnstone, who says, that Charles looked as if he considered the accident a bad omen.

As the column cleared the marsh, it continued its course towards the sea; but after the whole army had passed, it was ascertained that the Duke of Perth had inadvertently (not being able, from the darkness, to see the whole line) advanced too far with the front, and that a considerable gap had, in consequence, been left in the centre. The duke, being informed of this error, halted his men till joined by the rear. Hitherto the darkness had concealed the march of the Highlanders; but the morning was now about to dawn, and at the time

the order to halt was given, some of Cope's piquets stationed on his left, for the first time, heard the tramp of the Highlanders. The Highlanders then heard distinctly these advanced guards repeatedly call out, "Who is there?" No answer having been returned, the piquets immediately gave the alarm, and the cry of "cannons, cannons; get ready the cannons, cannoneers," resounded on Cope's left wing.

Charles proceeded instantly to give directions for attacking Cope before he should have time to change his position by opposing his front to that of the Highland army. It was not in compliance with any rule in military science, that the order of march of the Highland army had been reversed; but in accordance with an established punctilio among the clans, which, for upwards of seven centuries, had assigned the right wing, regarded as the post of honour, to the Macdonalds. As arranged at the council of war on the preceding evening, the army was drawn up in two lines. The first consisted of the regiments of Clanranald, Keppoch, Glengary, and Glencoe, under their respective chiefs. These regiments formed the right wing, which was commanded by the Duke of Perth. The Duke of Perth's men and the Macgregors composed the centre; while the left wing, commanded by Lord George Murray, was formed of the Camerons under Lochiel, their chief, and the Stewarts of Appin commanded by Stewart of Ardshiel. The second line, which was to serve as a reserve, consisted of the Athole men, the Robertsons of Strowan, and the Maclauchlans. This body was placed under the command of Lord Nairne.

As soon as Cope received intelligence of the advance of the Highlanders, he gave orders to change his front to the east. Some confusion took place in carrying these orders into execution, from the advanced guards

belonging to the foot not being able to find out the regiments to which they belonged, and who, in consequence, stationed themselves on the right of Lee's five companies, and thereby prevented the two squadrons of Gardiner's dragoons, which had been posted on the right of the line, from forming properly. For want of room the squadron under Colonel Gardiner drew up behind that commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney. In all other respects the disposition of each regiment was the same; but the artillery, which before the change had been on the left, and close to that wing, was now on the right somewhat farther from the line, and in front of Whitney's squadron.

There was now no longer any impediment to prevent the armies from coming into collision; and if Cope had had the choice he could not have selected ground more favourable for the operations of cavalry than that which lay between the two armies. It was a level cultivated field of considerable extent without bush or tree, and had just been cleared of its crop of grain. But unfortunately for the English general, the celerity with which the Highlanders commenced the attack prevented him from availing himself of this local advantage.

After both lines of the Highland army had formed, Charles addressed his army in these words: "Follow me, gentlemen; and by the assistance of God I will, this day, make you a free and happy people." He then went up to the right wing and spent a little time in earnest conversation with the Duke of Perth and Clanranald, and, having given his last instructions to them, returned to the station which, in compliance with the wish of his council, he had taken between the lines, where, surrounded by his guard, he waited the signal to advance. If, as alleged by Chevalier Johnstone, Charles

exhibited symptoms of alarm when he fell on crossing the ditch, he now certainly showed that fear had no longer a place in his mind. The coolness and self-possession which he displayed when giving his orders would have done honour to the most experienced general; but these qualities are to be still more valued in a young man playing the important and dangerous game that Charles had undertaken. The officer, to whose tuition Charles had been indebted for the little knowledge he had acquired of Gaelic, mentions an occurrence indicative of the prince's firmness on this occasion. In returning from the right wing to his guard after giving his orders to the Duke of Perth and Clanranald, he saw the officer alluded to passing near him, and with a smile, said to him in Gaelic, — " Gres-ort, gres-ort! " that is, " Make haste, make haste! "

By the time the arrangements for commencing the attack were completed, the morning had fully dawned, and the beams of the rising sun were beginning to illuminate the horizon; but the mist which still hovered over the corn-fields prevented the two armies from seeing each other. Everything being now in readiness for advancing, the Highlanders took off their bonnets, and, placing themselves in an attitude of devotion, with upraised eyes uttered a short prayer. As the Highlanders had advanced considerably beyond the main ditch, Lord George Murray was apprehensive that Cope might turn the left flank, and to guard against such a contingency, he desired Lochiel, who was on the extreme left, to order his men in advancing to incline to the left.

Lord George Murray now ordered the left wing to advance, and sent an aide-de-camp to the Duke of Perth to request him to put the right in motion. The Highlanders moved with such rapidity that their ranks broke; to recover which, they halted once or twice

before closing with the enemy. When Cope, at daybreak, observed the first line of the Highland army formed in order of battle, at the distance of two hundred paces from his position, he mistook it for bushes; but before it had advanced half-way, the rays of the rising sun bursting through the retiring mist showed the armies to each other. The army of Cope at this time made a formidable appearance; and some of Charles's officers were heard afterward to declare, that when they first saw it, and compared the gallant appearance of the horse and foot, with their well-polished arms glittering in the sunbeams, with their own line broken into irregular clusters, they expected that the Highland army would be instantly defeated, and swept from the field.

The Highlanders continued to advance in profound silence. As the right wing marched straight forward without attending to the oblique movement of the Camerons to the left, a gap took place in the centre of the line. An attempt was made to fill it up with the second line, which was about fifty paces behind the first, but before this could be accomplished, the left wing, being the first to move, had advanced beyond the right of the line, and was now engaged with the enemy. By inclining to the left, the Camerons gained half the ground originally between them and the main ditch; but this movement brought them up directly opposite to Cope's cannon. On approaching the cannon the Highlanders fired a few shots at the artillery guard, which alarmed an old gunner, who had charge of the cannon, and his assistants to such a degree that they fled, carrying the powder flasks along with them. To check the advance of the Highlanders, Colonel Whiteford fired off five of the field-pieces with his own hand; but though their left seemed to recoil, they instantly

resumed the rapid pace they had set out with. The artillery guard next fired a volley with as little effect. Observing the squadron of dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney advancing to charge them, the Camerons set up a loud shout, rushed past the cannon, and after discharging a few shots at the dragoons, which killed several men, and wounded the lieutenant-colonel, flew upon them sword in hand. When assailed, the squadron was reeling to and fro from the fire; and the Highlanders following an order they had received, to strike at the noses of the horses without minding the riders, completed the disorder. In a moment the dragoons wheeled about, rode over the artillery guard, and fled followed by the guard. The Highlanders continuing to push forward without stopping to take prisoners, Colonel Gardiner was ordered to advance with his squadron, and charge the enemy. He accordingly went forward, encouraging his men to stand firm; but this squadron, before it had advanced many paces, experienced a similar reception with its companion, and followed the example which the other had just set.

After the flight of the dragoons, the Highlanders advanced upon the infantry, who opened a fire from right to left, which went down the line as far as Murray's regiment. They received this volley with a loud huzza, and throwing away their muskets, drew their swords and rushed upon the foot before they had time to reload their pieces. Confounded by the flight of the dragoons, and the furious onset of the Highlanders, the astonished infantry threw down their arms and took to their heels. Hamilton's dragoons, who were stationed on Cope's left, displayed even greater pusillanimity than their companions; for no sooner did they observe the squadrons on the right give way, than they turned their backs and fled without firing a single shot,

or drawing a sword.[13] Murray's regiment, being thus left alone on the field, fired upon the Macdonalds who were advancing, and also fled. Thus, within a very few minutes after the action had commenced, the whole army of Cope was put to flight. With the exception of their fire, not the slightest resistance was made by horse or foot, and not a single bayonet was stained with blood. Such were the impetuosity and rapidity with which the first line of the Highlanders broke through Cope's ranks, that they left numbers of his men in their rear who attempted to rally behind them; but on seeing the second line coming up they endeavoured to make their escape. Though the second line was not more than fifty paces behind the first, and was always running as fast as it could to overtake the first line, and near enough never to lose sight of it, yet such was the rapidity with which the battle was gained, that, according to the Chevalier Johnstone, who stood by the side of the prince in the second line, he could see no other enemy on the field of battle than those who were lying on the ground killed and wounded.

Unfortunately for the royal infantry, the walls of the enclosures about the village of Preston, which, from the position they took up on the preceding evening, formed their great security on their right, now that these park-walls were in their rear, operated as a barrier to their flight. Having disencumbered themselves of their arms to facilitate their escape, they had deprived themselves of their only means of defence, and driven as they were upon the walls of the enclosures, they would have all perished under the swords of the Highlanders, had not Charles and his officers strenuously exerted themselves to preserve the lives of their discomfited foes. The impetuosity of the attack, however, and the sudden flight of the royal army,

allowed little leisure for the exercise of humanity, and before the carnage ceased several hundreds had fallen under the claymores of the Highlanders, and the ruthless scythes of the Macgregors. Armed with these deadly weapons, which were sharpened and fixed to poles from seven to eight feet long, to supply the place of other arms, this party mowed down the affrighted enemy, cut off the legs of the horses, and severed, it is said, the bodies of their riders in twain. Captain James Drummond, alias Macgregor, son of the celebrated Rob Roy, who commanded this company, fell at the commencement of the action. When advancing to the charge he received five wounds. Two bullets went through his body, and laid him prostrate on the ground. That his men might not be discouraged by his fall, this intrepid officer resting his head upon his hand, called out to them, "My lads, I am not dead! — by God, I shall see if any of you does not do his duty!" This singular address had the desired effect, and the Macgregors instantly fell on the flank of the English infantry, which, being left uncovered and exposed by the flight of the cavalry, immediately gave way.

Of the infantry of the royal army, about 170 only escaped. From a report made by their own sergeants and corporals, by order of Lord George Murray, between sixteen and seventeen hundred prisoners, foot and cavalry, fell into the hands of the Highlanders, including about seventy officers. In this number were comprehended the baggage-guard, stationed at Cockenzie, which amounted to three hundred men, who, on learning the fate of the main body and the loss of their cannon, surrendered to the Camerons. The cannon and all the baggage of the royal army, together with the military chest, containing £4,000, fell into the hands of the victors. The greater part of the dragoons escaped by

the two roads at the extremities of the park wall, one of which passed by Colonel Gardiner's house in the rear on their right, and the other on their left, to the north of Preston house. In retiring towards these outlets, the dragoons, at the entreaties of their officers, halted once or twice, and faced about to meet the enemy; but as soon as the Highlanders came up and fired at them, they wheeled about and fled. Cope, who was by no means deficient in personal courage, assisted by the Earls of Home and Loudon, collected about 450 of the panic-struck dragoons on the west side of the village of Preston, and attempted to lead them back to the charge; but no entreaties could induce these cowards to advance, and the whistling of a few bullets, discharged by some Highlanders near the village, so alarmed them, that they instantly scampered off in a southerly direction, screening their heads behind their horses' necks to avoid the bullets of the Highlanders. The general had no alternative but to gallop off with his men.[14] He reached Coldstream, a town about forty miles from the field of battle, that night; and entered Berwick next day.

Among six of Cope's officers who were killed was Colonel Gardiner, a veteran soldier who had served under the Duke of Marlborough, and whose character combined a strong religious feeling with the most undaunted courage. He had been decidedly opposed to the defensive system of Cope on the preceding evening, and had counselled the general not to lose a moment in attacking the Highlanders; but his advice was disregarded. Anticipating the fate which awaited him, he spent the greater part of the night in devotion, and resolved at all hazards to perform his duty. He was wounded at the first onset at the head of his dragoons; but disdaining to follow them in their retreat,

he joined a small body of foot, which attempted to rally near the wall of his own garden, and while fighting at their head was cut down by the murderous scythe of a Macgregor, within a few yards of his own house. He was carried to the manse [15] of Tranent in almost a lifeless state, by a friend, where he expired within a few hours, and was interred in the northwest corner of the church of Tranent. Captain Brymer of Lee's regiment, who appears to have participated in Gardiner's opinion as to attacking the Highlanders, met a similar fate. Having been at the battle of Sheriffmuir, he was satisfied of the capability of the Highlanders to contend with regular troops, and dreaded the result of an encounter if assailed by the Highlanders. When encamped at Haddington, his brother officers were in high spirits, and making light of the enemy; but Brymer viewed matters in a very different light. While reading one night in his tent he was accosted by Mr. Congalton of Congalton, his brother-in-law, who, observing him look pensive and grave, when all the other officers appeared so cheerful, inquired the reason. Brymer answered that the Highlanders were not to be despised, and that he was afraid his brother officers would soon find that they had mistaken the character of the Highlanders, who would, to a certainty, attack the royal army, with a boldness which those only who had witnessed their prowess could have any idea of. These gloomy forebodings were not the result of an innate cowardice — for this officer was, as he showed, a brave man — but from a well-founded conviction that Cope's men could not stand the onset of such a body of Highlanders as Charles had assembled. Brymer was killed, with his face to the enemy, disdaining to turn his back when that part of the line where he was stationed was broken in upon by the Highlanders.

The loss on the side of the Highlanders was trifling. Four officers, and between thirty and forty privates, were killed; and five or six officers, and between seventy and eighty privates, wounded.

After the termination of the fight, the field of battle presented an appalling spectacle, rarely exhibited in the most bloody conflicts. As almost all the slain were cut down by the broadsword and the scythe, the ground was strewed with legs, arms, hands, noses, and mutilated bodies, while, from the deep gashes inflicted by these dreadful weapons, the field was literally soaked with gore. An instance of the almost resistless power of the broadsword occurred when a Highland gentleman, who led a division, broke through Mackay's regiment. A grenadier, having attempted to parry off with his hand a blow made at him by the gentleman alluded to, had his hand lopped off and his skull cut above an inch deep. He expired on the spot.

It was a most fortunate circumstance that the Highlanders, having no revengeful feeling to gratify on the present occasion, were easily induced to listen to the dictates of humanity. After the fury of their onset was abated, they not only readily gave, but even offered quarter; and, when the action was over, displayed a sympathy for the wounded, rarely equalled, and never surpassed. A Highland officer thus exultingly notices the conduct of his companions in arms. "Now, whatever notions or sentiments the low country people may entertain of our Highlanders, this day there were many proofs to a diligent spectator, amidst all the bloodshed (which at the first shock was unavoidable), of their humanity and mercy; for I can, with the strictest truth and sincerity, declare, that I often heard our people call out to the soldiers if they wanted quarter; and we, the officers, exerted our utmost pains to protect

the soldiers from their first fury, when either through their stubbornness or want of language they did not cry for quarters, and I observed some of our private men run to Port Seton for ale and other liquors to support the wounded. And as one proof for all, to my own particular observation, I saw a Highlander supporting a poor wounded soldier by the arms till he should . . . and afterward carry him on his back into his house, and left him a sixpence at parting."

In their attentions to the wounded, the Highlanders had a powerful example in Charles himself, who not only issued orders for taking care of the wounded, but also remained on the field of battle till midday to see that his orders were fulfilled. Finding the few surgeons he had carried along with him inadequate to meet the demands of the wounded, he despatched one of his officers to Edinburgh to bring out all the surgeons, who accordingly instantly repaired to the field of battle. As the Highlanders felt an aversion to bury the dead, and as the country people could not be prevailed upon to assist in the care of the wounded,[16] Charles experienced great obstacles in carrying through his humane intentions. Writing to his father, on the evening of the battle, he thus alludes to them: " 'Tis hard my victory should put me under new difficulties which I did not feel before, and yet this is the case. I am charged both with the care of my friends and enemies. Those who should bury the dead are run away, as if it were no business of theirs. My Highlanders think it beneath them to do it, and the country people are fled away. However, I am determined to try if I can get people for money to undertake it, for I cannot bear the thought of suffering Englishmen to rot above the ground. I am in great difficulties how I shall dispose of my wounded prisoners. If I make a hospital of the

church, it will be lookt upon as a great profanation, and of having violated my manifesto, in which I promised to violate no man's property. If the magistrates would act, they would help me out of this difficulty. Come what will, I am resolved not to let the poor wounded men lye in the streets, and if I can do no better, I will make a hospital of the palace and leave it to them.[17]

When congratulating themselves on the victory they had obtained, the Highlanders related to each other what they had done or seen. Instances were given of individual prowess which might appear incredible, were it not well-known that when fear seizes an army all confidence in themselves or their numbers is completely destroyed. On this occasion "the panic-terror of the English surpassed all imagination. They threw down their arms that they might run with more speed, thus depriving themselves by their fears of the only means of arresting the vengeance of the Highlanders. Of so many, in a condition from their numbers to preserve order in their retreat, not one thought of defending himself. Terror had taken entire possession of their minds." Of the cases mentioned, one was that of a young Highlander about fourteen years of age, scarcely formed, who was presented to the prince as a prodigy, having, it was said, killed fourteen of the enemy. Charles asking him if this was true, he replied, "I do not know if I killed them, but I brought fourteen soldiers to the ground with my sword." Another instance was that of a Highlander, who brought ten soldiers, whom he had made prisoners, to the prince, driving them before him like a flock of sheep. With unexampled rashness, he had pursued a party of Cope's men to some distance from the field of battle, along a road between two enclosures, and striking down the hindermost man of the party with a blow of his sword,

called aloud at the same time, " Down with your arms." The soldiers, terror-struck, complied with the order without looking behind them; and the Highlander, with a pistol in one hand and a sword in the other, made them do as he pleased. Yet, as the Chevalier Johnstone observes, these were " the same English soldiers who had distinguished themselves at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and who might justly be ranked amongst the bravest troops of Europe."

After doing everything in his power for the relief of the wounded of both armies, and giving directions for the disposal of his prisoners, Charles partook of a small repast upon the field of battle, and thereafter proceeded to Pinkie house, a seat of the Marquis of Tweeddale, where he passed the night.

CHAPTER V

ALARM IN ENGLAND

In the evening of Sunday the twenty-second of September, the day after the battle of Preston or Gladsmuir, as that affair is named by the Highlanders, Charles returned to Holyrood house, and was received by a large concourse of the inhabitants, who had assembled round the palace, with the loudest acclamations. His return to the capital had been preceded by a large portion of his army, which, it is said, made a considerable display as it marched up the long line of street, leading from the Water gate to the castle, amidst the din of a number of bagpipes, and carrying along with it the enemy's standards, and other trophies of victory which it had taken upon the field.

Apprehensive that the alarm, which Cope's disaster would excite in the city, might obstruct the public worship on the Sunday, Charles had sent messengers on the evening of the battle, to the dwelling-houses of the different ministers, desiring them to continue their ministrations as usual; but although the church bells were tolled at the customary hour next morning, and the congregations assembled, one only of the city clergymen appeared, all the rest having retired to the country. The minister who thus distinguished himself among his brethren on this occasion was a Mr. Hog, morning lecturer in the Tron church. The two clergymen of the neighbouring parish of St. Cuthbert's, Messrs. Macvicar and Pitcairn, also continued to preach as

usual, and many inhabitants of the city went to hear them. No way dismayed by the presence of the Highland army, they continued to pray as usual for King George; and Mr. Macvicar even went so far in his prayers as to express a hope that God would take Charles to himself, and that instead of an earthly crown, he would "give him a crown of glory." Charles is said to have laughed heartily on being informed of Mr. Macvicar's concern for his spiritual welfare. To induce the ministers to return to their duty, the prince issued a proclamation on Monday, repeating the assurances he had so often given them, that no interruption should be given to public worship; but that, on the contrary, all concerned should be protected. This intimation, however, had no effect upon the fugitive ministers, who, to the great scandal of their flocks, deserted their charges during the whole time the Highlanders occupied the city.

In the first moments of victory, Charles felt a gleam of joy, which for a time excluded reflection; but when, after retiring from the battle-field, he began to ruminate over the events of the day, and to consider that it was British blood that had been spilt, his spirits sunk within him. "If I had obtained this victory," says he to his father, in the letter already quoted, "over foreigners, my joy would have been complete; but as it is over Englishmen, it has thrown a damp upon it that I little imagined. The men I have defeated were your Majesty's enemies, it is true, but they might have become your friends and dutiful subjects when they had got their eyes opened to see the true interest of their country, which you mean to save, not to destroy." For these reasons he was unwilling that the victory should be celebrated by any public manifestation, and on being informed that many of the inhabitants of Edinburgh

intended to testify their joy on the occasion by some public acts, the prince, in the same proclamation which enjoined the clergymen to return to their charges, prohibited "any outward demonstrations of public joy."

The news of the prince's victory was received everywhere, by the Jacobites, with the most unbounded delight. Unable any longer to conceal their real sentiments, they now publicly avowed them, and like their predecessors, the cavaliers, indulged in deep potations to the health of "the king" and the prince. But this enthusiasm was not confined to the Jacobites alone. Many persons, whose political creed was formerly doubtful, now declared unequivocally in favour of the cause of the prince; whilst others, whose sentiments were formerly in favour of the government, openly declared themselves converts to an order of things which they now considered inevitable. In short, throughout the whole of Scotland the tide of public opinion was completely changed in favour of the Stuarts. The fair sex, who in all civilized countries exercise an almost unlimited sway in matters where the affections are concerned, displayed an ardent attachment to the person and cause of the prince, and contributed not a little to bring about the change in public feeling alluded to. Duncan Forbes has well described this strong revolution in public feeling. "All Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad; all doubtful people became Jacobites; and all bankrupts became heroes, and talked of nothing but hereditary rights and victory; and what was more grievous to men of gallantry, and if you will believe me, much more mischievous to the public, all the fine ladies, if you will except one or two, became passionately fond of the young adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner."

ALARM IN ENGLAND

In England the news of the prince's victory created a panic, the effect of which was a run upon the bank, which would have been fatal to that establishment, had not the principal merchants entered into an association to support public credit by receiving the notes of the bank in payment. Scotchmen were everywhere looked upon with distrust by their southern neighbours, and the most severe reflections were indulged in against the Scottish nation. Sir Andrew Mitchell, writing to President Forbes, notices with deep regret this feeling against his countrymen: "The ruin of my country, and the disgrace and shame to which it is, and will continue to be, exposed, have affected me to that degree, that I am hardly master of myself. Already every man of our country is looked on as a traitor, as one secretly inclined to the Pretender, and waiting but an opportunity to declare. The guilty and the innocent are confounded together, and the crimes of a few imputed to the whole nation." Again, "I need not describe to you the effects the surrender of Edinburgh, and the progress the rebels made, had upon this country. I wish I could say that they were confined to the lower sort of people; but I must fairly own that their betters were as much touched as they. The reflections were national; and it was too publicly said that all Scotland were Jacobites; the numbers of the rebels and their adherents were magnified for this purpose; and he that in the least diminished them, was called a secret Jacobite."

Elated by the news of the victory of Gladsmuir, a party of armed Highlanders entered Aberdeen on the twenty-fifth of September, seized James Morison, junior, the provost, and carrying him to the cross, held their drawn swords over his head till they proclaimed the Chevalier de St. George. They then requested him to drink the health of "the king," but having refused

to do so, they threw a glass of wine into his breast. Not wishing to have his loyalty put a second time to such a severe test, the provost left the city, not thinking himself safe, as he observes, "in the way of those who had used him in so unreasonable and odd a manner."

With the exception of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and a few insignificant forts, the whole of Scotland may be said to have been now in possession of the victor. Having no longer an enemy to combat in North Britain, Charles turned his eyes to England; but against the design which he appears to have contemplated, of an immediate march into that kingdom, several very serious objections occurred. If the prince could have calculated on a general rising in England in his favour, his advance into that kingdom with a victorious army, before the government recovered from the consternation into which it had been thrown by the recent victory, would have been a wise course of policy; but it would have been extremely rash, without an absolute assurance of extensive support from the friends of the cause in England, to have entered that kingdom with the small army which fought at Gladsmuir, and which, instead of increasing, was daily diminishing, by the return of some of the Highlanders to their homes, according to custom, with the spoils they had collected. There were indeed, among the more enthusiastic of the prince's advisers some persons who advocated an immediate incursion into England; but by far the greater part thought the army too small for such an undertaking; that although the success which had attended their arms would certainly engage a number of friends, who either had not hitherto had an opportunity of joining, or had delayed doing so, because they saw little or no appearance of success, yet it was prudent to wait for such aid; that French succours

might now be depended upon, since the prince had given convincing proofs of his having a party in Scotland; that, at any rate, it was better to remain some little time at Edinburgh, till they saw what prospects there were of success, and that in the meantime the army would be getting stronger by reinforcements which were expected from the north, and would be better modelled and accoutred. The latter opinion prevailed, and Charles resolved to make some stay in Edinburgh.

Alluding to this resolution, Mr. Maxwell observes: "Those who judge of things only by the event will condemn this measure, and decide positively that if the prince had marched on from the field of battle, he would have carried all before him. As the prince's affairs were ruined in the end, it is natural to wish he had done anything else than what he did. Things could hardly have turned out worse, and there was a possibility of succeeding. But to judge fairly of the matter, we must have no regard to what happened, but consider what was the most likely to happen. The prince had but three thousand men at the battle, where he had one hundred at least killed and wounded. He might reckon upon losing some hundreds more, who would go home with the booty they had got, so that he could not reckon upon more than twenty-five hundred men to follow him into England, where he had no intelligence, nor hopes of being joined, nor resource in case of a misfortune. But what would the world have said of such an attempt had it miscarried?"

According to the Chevalier Johnstone, the prince was advised by his friends, that as the whole of the towns of Scotland had been obliged to recognize him as regent of the kingdom, in the absence of his father, his chief object should be to endeavour by every possible

means to secure himself in the government of Scotland; and to defend himself against the English armies, which would be sent against him, without attempting for the present to extend his views to England. There were others who strongly advised Charles to annul the union between Scotland and England, as an act made during the usurpation of Queen Anne, by a cabal of a few Scotch peers, and to summon a Scottish Parliament, to meet at Edinburgh, to impose taxes in a legal manner, and obtain supplies for his army. This party assured the prince that these steps would give great pleasure to all Scotland, and that the tendency of them would be to renew the ancient discord between the two countries, and that the war would thereby be made national. They informed him, that, so far from being prepared to run an immense risk, for the sake of acquiring England, they wished for nothing more than to see him seated on the throne of Scotland. As the chief object of his ambition, however, was to obtain the crown of England, he rejected the proposal made to him, to confine his views to Scotland.

As soon as it was determined to remain in Scotland till the army should be reinforced, every measure was adopted that could tend to increase it. Letters were despatched to the Highlands, and other parts of Scotland, containing the news of the victory, and urging immediate aid; and messengers were sent to France to represent the state of the prince's affairs, and to solicit succours from that court. Officers were appointed to beat up for recruits, and every inducement was held out to the prisoners taken at Preston to join the insurgents. Many of these, accordingly, enlisted into the prince's army, and were of considerable service in drilling recruits, but before the Highland army left Edinburgh, almost the whole of them had deserted,

and joined their former companions at Berwick. The principal person selected by Charles to go to the Highlands, on the present occasion, was Mr. Alexander Macleod, a gentleman of the Scottish bar, who carried along with him a paper of instructions, dated the twenty-fourth day of September, and signed by Secretary Murray. By these instructions, Macleod was directed forthwith to proceed to the isle of Skye, to assure Sir Alexander Macdonald, and the laird of Macleod, and other gentlemen of their names, that the prince did not impute their not having hitherto joined him to any failure of loyalty or zeal on their part, for his father's cause; but to the private manner in which he had arrived in Scotland, which was from a desire to restore his royal father without foreign assistance; that he was ready still to receive them with the same affection he would have welcomed them, had they joined him on his landing; and that as they well knew the dispositions of the Highlanders, and their inclination to return home after a battle, they would be sensible how necessary it was to recruit the army with a strong body of men from their country. After giving them these assurances, Macleod was directed to require of these chiefs to repair with all possible speed with their men to Edinburgh, where they should be furnished with arms. In case they were found refractory, Macleod was directed to use all proper means with the gentlemen of their different families to bring them to the field with as many followers as possible; that to encourage them to take up arms, he was to acquaint them that the prince had received undoubted assurances of support, from France and Spain; that the Earl Marischal was expected to land in Scotland with a body of troops; that the Duke of Ormond was also expected in England, with the Irish brigade, and a large quantity of arms, ammunition,

and money; and that before passing the Forth, he had received letters from the Spanish ministry, and the Duke of Bouillon, containing positive assurances of aid. In conclusion, Macleod was ordered to assure these gentlemen that the encouragement and favour which would be shown them, if they joined the prince's standard, would be in proportion to their loyalty and the backwardness of their chiefs. He was likewise directed to send for the chief of Mackinnon, and to tell him that the prince was much surprised that one who had given such solemn assurances, as Mackinnon had done, to join him, with all the men he could collect, should have failed in his promise. As Macleod of Swordland, in Glenelg, who had visited the prince in Glenfinnin, had there engaged to seize the fort of Bernera, and to join Charles with a hundred men, whether his chief joined or not, the messenger was instructed to ask him why he had not fulfilled his engagement. The result of this mission will be subsequently noticed.

Seated in the palace of his ancestors, Charles, as prince regent, continued to discharge the functions of royalty, by exercising every act of sovereignty, with this difference only between him and his rival in St. James's, that while King George could only raise troops and levy money by act of Parliament, Charles, by his own authority, not only ordered regiments to be raised for his service, and troops of horse-guards to be levied for the defence of his person, but also imposed taxes at pleasure. To give éclat to his proceedings, and to impress upon the minds of the people, by external acts, the appearances of royalty, he held a levee every morning in Holyrood house, and appointed a council which met every morning at ten o'clock, after the levee was over. This council comprised the Duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray, the lieutenant-generals of the

army, O'Sullivan, the quartermaster-general, Lord Pitsligo, Lord Elcho, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Secretary Murray, and all the Highland chiefs.

As nothing could injure his cause more in the eyes of the people than acts of oppression on the part of his troops, one of Charles's first acts after his return to Edinburgh, was to issue an edict granting protection to the inhabitants of the city and the vicinity, in their persons and properties; but farmers, living within five miles of Edinburgh, were required, before being entitled to the protection, to appear at the secretary's office, in Holyrood house, and grant bond that they should be ready, on twelve hours' notice, to furnish the prince with horses for carrying the baggage of his army to Berwick-upon-Tweed, or a similar distance, according to their plowgates. By another proclamation put forth the same day, viz., the twenty-third of September, he denounced death or such other punishment as a court-martial should order to be inflicted on any soldier or person connected with his army, who should be guilty of forcibly taking from "the good people of Edinburgh," or of the country, any of their goods without a fair equivalent to the satisfaction of the parties. These orders were in general scrupulously attended to, though, in some instances, irregularities were committed, under the pretence of searching for arms. The greater part, however, were the acts of persons, who, though they wore the white cockade, did not belong to the army.

Besides the clergymen of the city, a considerable number of the volunteers had deserted their homes in dread of punishment for having taken up arms. To induce these, as well as the ministers of the city, to return, Charles issued a proclamation on the twenty-fourth day of September, granting a full pardon to all

or such of them, as should, within twenty days after the publication thereof, present themselves to Secretary Murray, or to any other member of the council, at Holyrood house, or at such other place as the prince might be at the time. A few volunteers only took advantage of this offer.

When the Highland army first approached to the city, the directors of the two banks then existing had removed all their money and notes to the castle, under the apprehension that the prince would appropriate them to his own use. As great inconvenience was felt in the city by the removal of the banks, Charles issued a proclamation on the twenty-fifth of September, in which, after disclaiming any intention to seize the funds belonging to the banks, he invited them to resume their business in the city; and he pledged himself to protect them, that the money lodged in the banks should be free from any exactions on his part; and that he himself would contribute to the re-establishment of public credit, by receiving and issuing the notes of the banks in payment. The banks, however, declined to avail themselves of the prince's offer; but when applied to for money in exchange for a large quantity of their notes in possession of the Highland army, the directors answered the demand.

As the wants of his army were great, the next object of the prince's solicitude was to provide against them. Anxious as he was to conciliate all classes of the people, he had no alternative on the present occasion, but to assess the burghs of Scotland, in sums proportionate to the duties of excise, drawn from them respectively. He accordingly sent letters, dated the thirtieth of September, to all of the chief magistrates of the burghs, ordering them, under the pain of rebellion, to repair, upon receipt, to Holyrood house, to get the contribu-

tions to be paid by their respective burghs ascertained, and for repayment of which, he promised to assign the duties of excise. For immediate use, he compelled the city of Edinburgh, on pain of military execution, to furnish his army with a thousand tents, two thousand targets, six thousand pair of shoes, and other articles, to the value of upwards of £15,000, to liquidate which, a tax of two shillings and sixpence was laid on every pound of the real rent of houses within the city, and in the Canongate and Leith. From the city of Glasgow he demanded £15,000, a sum which was compromised by a prompt payment of £5,500. Simultaneous with the letters to the chief magistrates, the prince also despatched letters to the collectors of the land-tax, to the collectors and comptrollers of the customs and excise, and to the factors upon the estates forfeited in the former insurrection, requiring all of them, upon receipt, to repair to Holyrood house with their books, and to pay such balances as might appear upon examination to be in their hands, — the first and last classes, under the pain of rebellion and military execution, and the second class, besides the last-mentioned penalty, under the pain of high treason. Charles, at the same time, seized all the smuggled goods in the custom-houses of Leith and other seaports, which being sold, yielded him £7,000. Besides the exactions from public bodies, he compelled several of the nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh to supply him with considerable quantities of hay and oats. Parties of Highlanders were sent to the seats of the Dukes of Hamilton and Douglas, and the Earl of Hoptoun, who carried off arms and horses. From the last mentioned noblemen they took nearly a hundred horses.

For some days after the Highlanders resumed possession of Edinburgh, a sort of tacit understanding

existed between the garrison and them, under which the communication between the castle and the city continued open. A guard of Highlanders was posted at the Weigh house, an old square building, which stood at the head of West bow, at the distance of a few hundred yards from the fortress. This guard allowed provisions of every description to pass, particularly for the use of the officers; and matters might have remained for some time in this quiescent state, to the great comfort of the inhabitants, had not the garrison one night most unaccountably fired off some cannon and small arms in the direction of the West port. In consequence, it is believed, of this breach of the implied armistice, orders were given to the guards, on the twenty-ninth of September, to block up all the avenues leading to the castle, and allow no person to pass. On being made acquainted with this order, General Guest sent a letter, in the evening, addressed to the lord provost, intimating, that unless the communication between the castle and the city was renewed, and the blockade removed, he would be obliged to dislodge the Highland guards with his cannon, and bombard the city. Nothing could be more unreasonable and absurd than this threat. Though willing, the citizens had it not in their power, either to keep up the communication with the castle, or to take off the blockade, and though they were as unable to remove the Highlanders from the city "as to remove the city itself out of its seat," or prevent them from acting as they pleased, yet the citizens would be the only sufferers in the event of a bombardment, for the Highlanders, if the city were destroyed, would only be obliged to change their quarters, and neither the destruction of the one, nor the removal of the other, could be of any service to the castle. These views were represented to the governor by a deputation from the

city; but Guest remained inflexible, and pleaded in his justification a peremptory order, which he said he had received from the king himself, which left him no discretion. At the earnest solicitation of the inhabitants, Guest was prevailed upon to grant a respite for one night. Next morning, six deputies waited on the prince, at the palace, with General Guest's letter, which was in reality intended for him. After perusing the letter, Charles returned an answer immediately to the deputies in writing, in which he expressed surprise at the barbarity of the orders from the castle, at a time when it was admitted, that the garrison had six weeks' provisions on hand; that, in pleading, as Guest had done, the directions of "the Elector of Hanover," as an excuse, it was evident, that the Elector did not consider the inhabitants of Edinburgh as his subjects, otherwise he would not have made a demand upon them, which they could not fulfil; and that, should he, the prince, out of compassion to the citizens, comply with the extravagant demand now made, he might as well quit the city at once, and abandon all the advantages he had obtained; that, if any mischief should befall the city, he would take particular care to indemnify the inhabitants for their loss; and that, in the meantime, if forced by the threatened barbarity, he would make reprisals upon the estates of the officers in the castle, and also upon all who were "known to be open abettors of the German government."

This letter was laid before a meeting of the inhabitants who sent deputies with it to General Guest. After some altercation he agreed to suspend hostilities till the return of an express from London, on condition that the Highland army should, in the meantime, make no attempt upon the castle. This condition was, however, infringed by the Highlanders, who, on the following day,

discharged some musket shots with the intention, it is supposed, of frightening some persons who were carrying up provisions to the castle. General Guest, considering that he was no longer restrained from executing his threat, immediately opened a fire upon the guard stationed at the Weigh house, by which some houses were damaged and two persons wounded. Charles retaliated by issuing a proclamation next day, in which, after stating his resolution, that no communication should exist between the castle and the city, during his residence in the capital, he prohibited all correspondence with the castle, under pain of death. This proclamation was followed by an order to strengthen the blockade, by posting additional guards at several places about the castle. To revenge this step the garrison fired at every Highlander they could discover from the battlements, and, by this reckless proceeding, killed and wounded several of the inhabitants. A daring exploit was performed at the same time by a soldier, who slipped down from the castle, set fire to a house in Livingston's yards, where a guard was posted, and after shooting one of the guards dead upon the spot, returned safe to the fortress. Shortly after this occurrence a party sallied out from the castle, killed some of the guards stationed at the same place, took an officer and a few prisoners, and put the rest to flight.

Meanwhile General Guest sent a message to the city, intimating that he meant to demolish the houses where the guards were posted, but that care would be taken to do as little damage as possible to the city. Accordingly, on the fourth of October, about two o'clock in the afternoon, a cannonade was opened from the half-moon battery, near the Castlegate, which was kept up till the evening. When it grew dark the garrison made

a sally, and set fire to a foundry and a house on the Castle hill which had been deserted. They then dug a trench fourteen feet broad, and sixteen feet deep, across the Castle hill, about half-way between the gate and the houses on the Castle hill, and along the parapet made by the earth taken from the trench on the side next the castle, they posted two hundred men, who discharged some cartridge shot down the street, which killed some, and wounded others of the inhabitants. The bombardment was resumed next day with more disastrous effect. No person could with safety appear on the High Street, as the shots from the Castle hill penetrated as far down as the head of the old Flesh-market close, and shattered several houses. At first, some of the better informed among the citizens were disposed to regard the threat of a bombardment as a mere device to induce the prince to discontinue the blockade, as they could not bring themselves to believe that the government could have been guilty of issuing the barbarous order alluded to by the governor of the castle; but the inhabitants in general entertained more correct views, and before the cannonade commenced, the streets were crowded with women and children running towards the gates, in great confusion, while many of the citizens were to be seen carrying their most valuable effects out of the city. During the two days that the cannonade lasted, viz., the fourth and fifth of October, the utmost dismay prevailed among the inhabitants, and multitudes of them left the city, without knowing whither to flee or where to look for shelter. Amid the general confusion, some of the inhabitants lost part of their most valuable effects, and so great was the alarm that the streets were entirely deserted by the inhabitants who still remained in the city.

To put an end to this disastrous state of affairs,

Charles issued a proclamation on the evening of the fifth of October, removing the blockade. In this document he stated that it was with the greatest regret that he was hourly informed of the many murders which were committed upon the innocent inhabitants of the city, by the inhuman commanders and garrison of the castle, a practice contrary, he observed, to all the laws of war, to the truce granted to the city, and even exceeding the orders which the government, it was alleged, had given upon the occasion, — that he might have, as he had threatened, justly chastised those who had been instrumental in the ruin of the capital, by reprisals upon the estates and fortunes of the supporters of the government; but as he thought it noways derogatory to the glory of a prince, to suspend punishment, or alter a resolution, if, by such a course, he could save the lives of innocent men, he had allowed his humanity to yield to the barbarity of the common enemy. This proclamation was followed by a cessation of the cannonade; but the garrison still continued to fire occasionally at the Highlanders whenever they made their appearance in the neighbourhood of the castle.

The object of Guest, according to Mr. Home, in thus annoying the town, and provoking the Highlanders, was not to secure a supply of provisions, of which he had already an abundance, but to prevent them from marching into England, by keeping them occupied in the siege of the castle. To deceive Charles, he wrote in the beginning of the week following the battle of Preston, several letters to the Duke of Newcastle, one of the secretaries of state, acquainting him that there was but a very small stock of provisions in the castle of Edinburgh, — that he would be obliged to surrender, if not immediately relieved, and recommending that any troops sent to his relief should be forwarded by sea,

to Berwick or Newcastle, for the sake of despatch. These letters, which were intended for the perusal of Charles, were sent so that they might fall into his hands; but lest any of them might find their way to London, Guest sent a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, by a sure conveyance, giving him an account of the real state of the garrison, and informing him of the deception he was endeavouring to practise upon the Highlanders. This statement is at variance with the information communicated to a modern writer, that Guest and all his officers were for capitulating after the battle of Preston, and would have surrendered the castle, had not General George Preston of Valleyfield, who had been superseded in the command of the garrison by Guest, objected to the proposal, and resumed, with the consent of Guest, the command of the fortress. But this information seems of doubtful accuracy, for it is scarcely possible that a circumstance, of which all the officers were cognisant, could have remained so long concealed from the public.

Whilst the adherents of Charles in the Highlands and the northern Lowlands were exerting all their energies to collect reinforcements, Lord-President Forbes was using all his influence to prevent the chiefs of doubtful loyalty from committing themselves with the government. To induce them to arm in its support, after the success which had attended the prince's arms, was what he could scarcely have expected; but by persuasion, and by pointing out in forcible terms the ruin which would befall them and their families, should the prince fail in his enterprise, he succeeded in making them at first to waver, and finally to abandon any design they may have entertained of joining the prince. Among others who appear to have vacillated between two opinions, and in their perplexity to have alternately changed their

minds, was Macleod of Macleod. This chief, influenced probably by the solicitations of his clansman, who had been sent to him on the mission before alluded to, attended a meeting of gentlemen of the name of Fraser, convened by Lord Lovat at Beaufort, or Castle Downie, as that seat of the chief of the Frasers was sometimes called, on Friday, the fourth of October, and was despatched the following day to Skye, having engaged to join the Frasers with his men at Corriearrack on the fifteenth; but on advising with his friend, Sir Alexander Macdonald, he resolved to stay at home.

In neutralizing the efforts of the disaffected clans, and dissuading others of doubtful loyalty from joining the ranks of the insurgents, President Forbes had difficulties to contend with which few men could have overcome; but which he finally surmounted by that firmness, zeal, and indomitable perseverance, which distinguished him among all his political contemporaries. At its commencement, Forbes treated the insurrection very lightly. Before his departure for the north, he considered the prospect of affairs very flattering, and that the object of his journey had no appearance of difficulty; but the alteration in public feeling, consequent on the battle of Preston, changed the scene. Instead of finding the ready support he anticipated from the professed adherents of the government, he saw himself, to use his own words, "almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credit; provided with no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue and some reputation; and, if you will except Macleod, whom I sent for from the isle of Skye, supported by nobody of common sense or courage." The successes of the insurgents had, he observes, "blown up the spirit of mutiny to such a pitch, that nothing was heard of but caballing, and

gathering together of men in the neighbourhood. Every petty head of a tribe, who was in any degree tinged with Jacobitism, or desperate in his circumstances, assembled his kindred, and made use of the most mutinous, to drag the most peaceable out of their beds, and to force others to list by threatening destruction to their cattle and other effects; whilst we were unable to give them any assistance or protection." Exasperated at the president for the exertions he made to obstruct the designs of the disaffected, a plan was formed for seizing him by some of the Frasers, a party of whom, amounting to about two hundred men, accordingly made an attack upon the house of Culloden during the night between the fifteenth and sixteenth of October; but the president being upon his guard, they were repulsed. The apprehension of such an important personage would have been of greater service to the Jacobite cause than the gaining of a battle.

Confiding in the loyalty and discretion of President Forbes, the ministry had, at the suggestion of the Earl of Stair, sent down to the president, early in September, twenty commissions, for raising as many independent companies in the Highlands for the service of the government. The names of the officers were left blank in the commissions, that the president might distribute them among such of the well-affected clans as he might think proper. The plan which his lordship laid down for himself, in disposing of these commissions, was to distribute them among the clans who adhered to the government in the former insurrection, without neglecting such other clans, who, though then opposed to the government, had, on the present occasion, shown an unwillingness to join the Jacobite standard. To raise the companies, which were fixed at a hundred men each, as quickly as possible, the president resolved to leave the

nomination of the officers to the chiefs of the clans, out of whom they were to be raised. He accordingly despatched letters to the Earls of Sutherland and Cromarty, Lords Reay and Fortrose, Sir Alexander Macdonald, the lairds of Macleod and Grant, and other chiefs, requesting each of them to raise a company out of their respective clans, most of whom accordingly proceeded to enrol their men; but from the want of money and arms, only two companies were completed before the end of October, and several months expired before the whole were fully formed and drawn together.[18]

If the majority of the people of Scotland had been favourably disposed to the cause of the Stuarts, they had now an opportunity of displaying their attachment to the representative of their ancient monarchs, by declaring for the prince; but Charles soon found that, with the exception of the Highlands, and a few districts north of the Tay, where Catholicity and non-juring Episcopacy still retained a footing, the rest of Scotland was not disposed to join a contest for legitimacy, which they might imagine would not, if successful, strengthen the liberties of the nation, and might possibly impair them. The regular line of hereditary succession had been departed from, and it did not seem wise after a trial of fifty-seven years, during which period the political frame and texture of society had undergone a complete revolution, to place the succession on its original footing, by restoring the son of James the Second. The Jacobites, however, imbued with ideas of indefeasible hereditary right, were deaf to every argument founded on expediency or the will of the nation, and contended that every departure from the direct line of succession was an usurpation, and contrary to the divine law. No sovereign was, therefore, held by them as legitimate, while there existed a nearer heir to the

THE MACNAUGHTON

crown in the direct line of succession; but they did not reflect that, upon this principle, there was scarcely a legitimate sovereign in Europe.[19]

Among the Lowland Jacobites who displayed the greatest zeal on the present occasion, was Lord Ogilvy, eldest son of the Earl of Airly, who joined the prince at Edinburgh on the third of October with a regiment of six hundred men, chiefly from the county of Forfar, where his father's estates were situated. Most of the officers of the regiment were either of the Airly family, or bore the name of Ogilvy. Lord Ogilvy was followed by old Gordon of Glenbucket, an equally zealous supporter of the Stuarts, who arrived at Edinburgh next day with a body of four hundred men, which he had collected in Strathdon, Strathaven, Glenlivet, and Auchindoun. Glenbucket had been a major-general in Mar's army, in 1715, but he now contented himself with the colonelcy of the regiment he had just raised, of which he made his eldest son lieutenant-colonel, and his younger sons captains, while the other commissions were held by his relations or personal friends. On the ninth of October, Lord Pitsligo also joined the prince. He was accompanied by a considerable number of gentlemen from the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, with their servants, all well armed and mounted. These formed an excellent corps of cavalry. He also brought with him a small body of infantry. Lord Pitsligo, though possessed of a moderate fortune, had great influence with the gentlemen of the counties above named, by whom he was beloved and greatly esteemed, and having great reliance on his judgment and discretion, they did not hesitate, when he declared himself in favour of the prince, to put themselves under his command.

Having been informed that there were many persons, who, from infirmity and other causes, were unable to

join him, but were disposed to assist him with money, horses, and arms, the Chevalier issued a proclamation on the eighth day of October, calling upon all such persons to send such supplies to his secretary, at Holyrood house, or to such other place as he might happen to be at the time; and as an order had been issued, summoning the Parliament to meet on the seventeenth, he, by another proclamation dated the ninth, prohibited all peers and commoners from paying obedience to any order or resolution that might be published in the name of either house, in case they should meet.

On the tenth of October, Charles issued a second manifesto of a very spirited nature. It was of the following tenor: "As soon as we, conducted by the providence of God, arrived in Scotland, and were joined by a handful of our royal father's faithful subjects, our first care was to make public his most gracious declaration; and, in consequence of the large powers by him vested in us, in quality of regent, we also emitted our own manifesto, explaining and enlarging the promises formerly made, according as we came to be better acquainted with the inclinations of the people of Scotland. Now that it has pleased God so far to smile on our undertaking, as to make us master of the ancient kingdom of Scotland, we judge it proper, in this public manner, to make manifest what ought to fill the hearts of all his Majesty's subjects, of what nation or province soever, with comfort and satisfaction.

"We, therefore, hereby, in his Majesty's name, declare, that his sole intention is to reinstate all his subjects in the full enjoyment of their religion, laws, and liberties; and that our present attempt is not undertaken, in order to enslave a free people, but to redress and remove the encroachments made upon them; not to impose upon any a religion which they dislike, but

to secure them all the enjoyment of those which are respectively, at present, established among them, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland; and if it shall be deemed proper that any further security be given to the established church or clergy, we hereby promise in his name, that he shall pass any law that his Parliament shall judge necessary for that purpose.

" In consequence of the rectitude of our royal father's intentions, we must further declare his sentiments with regard to the national debt: That it has been contracted under an unlawful government, no body can disown, no more than it is now a most heavy load upon the nation; yet, in regard that it is for the greatest part due to those very subjects whom he promises to protect, cherish, and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of his Parliament concerning it, in which he thinks he acts the part of a just prince, who makes the good of his people the sole rule of his actions.

" Furthermore, we here, in his name, declare, that the same rule laid down for the funds shall be followed with respect to every law or act of Parliament since the Revolution; and in so far as, in a free and legal parliament, they shall be approved, he will confirm them. With respect to the pretended union of the two nations, the king cannot possibly ratify it, since he has had repeated remonstrances against it from each kingdom; and since it is incontestable, that the principal point then in view was the exclusion of the royal family from their undoubted right to the crown, for which purpose the grossest corruptions were openly used to bring it about; but whatever may be hereafter advised for the joint benefit of both nations, the king will most readily comply with the request of his parliaments to establish.

" And now that we have, in his Majesty's name, given

you the most ample security for your religion, properties, and laws, that the power of a British sovereign can grant, we hereby, for ourselves, as heir-apparent to the crown, ratify and confirm the same in our own name, before Almighty God, upon the faith of a Christian, and the honour of a prince.

"Let me now expostulate this weighty matter with you, my father's subjects, and let me not omit this first public opportunity of awakening your understandings, and of dispelling the cloud, which the assiduous pens of ill-designing men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to cast on the truth. Do not the pulpits and congregations of the clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threats of popery, slavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you by the formidable powers of France and Spain? Is not my royal father represented as a blood-thirsty tyrant, breathing out nothing but destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious religion? Or, have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth.

"I, with my own money, hired a small vessel, ill provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrived in Scotland, attended by seven persons; I publish the king, my father's declarations, and proclaim his title, with pardon in one hand, and, in the other, liberty of conscience; and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free parliament shall propose for the happiness of the people. I have, I confess, the greatest reason to adore the goodness of Almighty God, who has, in so remarkable a manner, protected me and my small army through the many dangers to which we were first exposed, and who has led me in the way to victory, and to the capital of this ancient kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the king, my father's subjects. Why

then is so much pains taken to spirit up the minds of the people against this my undertaking?

"The reason is obvious; it is, lest the real sense of the nation's present sufferings should blot out the remembrance of past misfortunes, and of the outcries formerly raised against the royal family. Whatever miscarriages might have given occasion to them, they have been more than atoned for since; and the nation has now an opportunity of being secured against the like for the future.

"That my family has suffered exile during these fifty-seven years, everybody knows. Has the nation, during that period of time, been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors, as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family, upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful prince, retained a due sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you found more humanity and condescension in those who were not born to a crown, than in my royal forefathers? Have their ears been open to the cries of the people? Have they, or do they consider, only the interest of these nations? Have you reaped any other benefit from them than an immense load of debts? If I am answered in the affirmative, why has their government been so often railed at in all your public assemblies? Why has the nation been so long crying out in vain for redress against the abuse of parliaments, upon account of their long duration, the multitude of place-men, which occasions their veniality, the introduction of penal laws, and, in general, against the miserable situation of the kingdom at home and abroad? All these, and many more inconveniences, must now be removed, unless the people of Great Britain be already so far corrupted, that they will not

accept of freedom when offered to them; seeing the king, on his restoration, will refuse nothing that a free Parliament can ask, for the security of the religion, laws, and liberty of his people.

"The fears of the nation from the powers of France and Spain appear still more vain and groundless; my expedition was undertaken unsupported by either. But indeed, when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me, and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his government against the king's subjects, is it not high time for the king, my father, to accept also of the assistance of those who are able, and who have engaged to support him? But will the world, or any one man of sense in it, infer from thence that he inclines to be a tributary prince rather than an independent monarch? Who has the better chance to be independent of foreign powers? He who, with the aid of his own subjects, can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder; or he who cannot, without assistance from abroad, support his government, though established by all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force, against the undisciplined part of those he has ruled over so many years? Let him, if he pleases, try the experiment; let him send off his foreign hirelings, and put the whole upon the issue of a battle; I will trust only to the king, my father's subjects, who were, or shall be, engaged in mine and their country's cause. But notwithstanding all the opposition he can make, I still trust in the justice of my cause, the valour of my troops, and the assistance of the Almighty, to bring my enterprise to a glorious issue.

"It is now time to conclude, and I shall do it with this reflection; civil wars are ever attended with rancour

and ill-will, which party-rage never fails to produce in the minds of those whom different interests, principles, or views set in opposition to one another. I therefore earnestly require it of my friends, to give as little loose as possible to such passions. This will prove the most effectual means to prevent the same in the enemies of our royal cause. And this my declaration will vindicate to all posterity the nobleness of my undertaking, and the generosity of my intentions."

This proclamation, like the other, began with these words: "Charles Prince of Wales, etc., regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging; unto all his Majesty's subjects, of what degree soever, greeting." And after being signed by Charles, was countersigned thus: "By his Highness's command, J. Murray."

During Charles's stay in Edinburgh the magisterial authority was in complete abeyance, and thieves and robbers, no longer restrained by the arm of power, stalked about, in open day, following their vocation. Under pretence of searching for arms, predatory bands, wearing white cockades and the Highland dress, perambulated the country, imposing upon and robbing the people. One of the most noted of these was headed by one James Ratcliffe, the same individual who figures so conspicuously in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," and who, having spent all his life in the commission of acts of robbery, had twice received sentence of death, but had contrived to effect his escape from jail. To suppress these and other acts of violence, Charles issued several edicts, and in one or two instances the last penalty of the law was inflicted by his orders upon the culprits.

Early in October a ship from France arrived at Montrose with some arms and ammunition and a small sum of money. On board this vessel was M. de Boyer,

Marquis d'Equillez, who arrived at Holyrood house on the fourteenth of October. The object of his journey was not exactly known, but his arrival was represented as a matter of great importance, and he was passed off as an ambassador from the French court. This vessel was soon followed by two others in succession, one of which brought, in addition to a supply of arms and money, some Irish officers in the service of France. The other had on board six field-pieces and a company of artillerymen. These succours, though small, were opportune, and were considered as an earnest of more substantial ones, of which d'Equillez gave the prince the strongest assurances. To facilitate and shorten the conveyance of arms and cannon, and of the reinforcements still expected from the north, batteries were raised at Alloa and on the immediate opposite side of the Frith of Forth, across which these were transported without any annoyance, although the *Fox*, a British man-of-war, was stationed in the Frith.

The army of the prince continued to increase by the arrival of several additional detachments from the north, and before the end of October he found that his forces amounted to nearly six thousand men; but this number was far below what Charles had expected. He had entertained hopes that by the exertions of Lord Lovat and other chiefs, whom he expected to declare in his favour, about triple that number would have been raised; but a messenger who arrived at Edinburgh from his lordship, brought him intelligence which rendered his expectations less sanguine. Lovat had calculated that he would be able to raise by his own influence a force of four or five thousand men for the service of Charles; and, the better to conceal his design, he opened a correspondence with President Forbes, in which, with his characteristic duplicity and cunning, he avowed

himself a warm supporter of the government, and succeeded for a considerable time in throwing the president off his guard. By degrees, however, his real intentions began to develop themselves, and after the battle of Preston he resolved to assemble his clan for the purpose of joining the prince. To deceive the government he compelled his son (afterward known as General Fraser), a youth of eighteen who had been attending his studies at the University of St. Andrews, to put himself at the head of the clan, and afterward pretended that his son had, by this proceeding, acted in direct opposition to his orders. The only force raised south of the Tay was a regiment of 450 men which Colonel Roy Stewart formed in Edinburgh during the stay of the Highland army; for, although the prince was joined at Edinburgh by the Earls of Kilmarnock and Kellie, Lord Balmerino, Maxwell of Kirkconnel, and other south country gentlemen, they did not bring as many men along with them as would have formed the staff of a company.

Having now spent nearly six weeks in Edinburgh the prince considered that he could no longer delay his intended march into England. By postponing that measure a few days longer he might have still further increased his force by the return of the men who had gone home after the battle, of whom he had received favourable accounts; by the accession of a body of Gordons which Lord Lewis Gordon, brother of the Duke of Gordon, was raising among the followers of the family; and by other small corps from the north. But it was judged that this advantage would be more than counterbalanced by other circumstances attendant upon delay. The long stay of the Highland army in Scotland had enabled the government to concentrate a considerable force in the north of England, already

far superior, in point of numbers, to the prince's troops, and this force was about to receive large additions from the south and from the continent. Nothing but a dread of the Highlanders and ignorance of their real strength kept the English army, already concentrated in the north, from entering Scotland; but terrible as was the impression made upon the minds of the English troops, by the reports which had been carried to England of the prowess of the Highlanders, it was not to be supposed, that, after the arrival of large reinforcements, their commanders would remain inactive. Had the government been aware of the weakness of the prince's army after the battle of Gladsmuir, it would probably not have delayed a single week in sending an army into Scotland; but the exaggerated reports, which had been everywhere spread, of the great strength of the Highland army, were fully credited. Attempts were made by some friends of the government, as well as by others, to ascertain their numbers; but Charles, by perpetually shifting their cantonments, and dividing them into detached bodies, not only contrived to conceal his weakness, but to impress these prying persons with an idea that he was much stronger than he really was.

Another reason for hastening his march south was the danger that the army might be diminished by desertion if kept in a state of inactivity. Desertions were frequent, and it was thought that nothing but an active life would put an end to a practice imputed to idleness and repose, and which allowed the men time to think on their families, and contemplate the hardships and dangers they were likely to undergo in a foreign land. But the chief motive which urged Charles and his council to put the army in motion was an apprehension that their supplies of money would be soon exhausted, in which event it would be quite impossible to keep

the army together for a single day. By adhering to a declaration he had made, that he would not enforce the obnoxious malt tax, the public money, which had been collected and was still in course of being raised, was far from being adequate to support the army which Charles had collected; and the contributions of his friends, which at first were considerable, were now beginning to fail. The supplies which had lately been received from France were therefore very opportune; but without additional and early pecuniary succours, which, though promised, might not speedily arrive or might miscarry, it was considered that unless the exchequer was replenished in England, the abandonment of the enterprise was inevitable. For these reasons, and as the prince informed his council that he had received the strongest assurances of support from numbers of the English Tories and Jacobites, an unanimous resolution was entered into to march forthwith into England.

Upon this resolution being adopted, the prince despatched a messenger to France with intelligence of his intentions, and to solicit the French court to make a descent on England. As this court had all along given as its reason for not seconding the prince's designs, by sending an army into England, the doubt which it had of his having a considerable party in that country, the messenger was instructed to represent the situation of the prince's affairs in the most favourable point of view. This person, by name Alexander Gordon, a Jesuit, left Edinburgh accordingly on the twenty-eighth of October, and took shipping at Dumfries on the first of November. On arriving in France he drew up a most flattering report, which he put into the hands of the prince's brother, Henry, Duke of York, then at Paris, to be laid before the French king. In this report he

stated, that while the prince had about twelve thousand men with him in Edinburgh and its vicinity, there were four thousand more expected to arrive; that he had already upwards of a thousand cavalry, and that a great number more were on their march to join him; that almost all these troops were well armed, and were amply provided with every necessary; and that all the inhabitants of the counties and towns where the prince had appeared, and particularly those of Edinburgh and Glasgow, had furnished the army with clothing, arms, and money, and, in short, with everything in their power. He stated, that besides the Highland chiefs and the noblemen of different counties, who had declared in favour of the prince before the battle of Preston, a great number of persons of distinction had since joined him at Edinburgh, among whom he particularly enumerated Lords Nithsdale and Kenmure, and Maxwell of Kirkconnel; that besides these there were many others, who, being unable to give their personal services, had sent the prince horses, arms, and money, and that after the prince's father had been proclaimed in the capital and the most considerable towns in Scotland, those who had formerly shown themselves least disposed to acknowledge him had displayed the most favourable dispositions towards the prince, being either subdued by the charms of his manners, or gained over by his manifestoes and proclamations. In short, that by the astonishing victory he had achieved, many persons, who would otherwise have still been in connection with the court of London, had submitted themselves to the prince, who might be said to be now absolute master of Scotland. That with regard to England, the people of that kingdom were ready to receive the prince with open arms as soon as he should appear among them with an army supported by France; that, independ-

ently of the general discontent of the nation with the government, the prince was emboldened to enter England by upwards of a hundred invitations which he had received from the nobility of England, and by large sums of money which he had obtained for the payment of his troops; that the English government, alarmed at this state of things, had, as was reported, hesitated accepting offers which some counties had made of raising bodies of militia, for fear that this force would be employed against itself. In fine, that such was the disposition of men's minds throughout the whole of Great Britain, that the fear of the prince not being supported by foreign aid, of which the court of London was in great dread, alone prevented the people from openly declaring themselves, and that every person was persuaded, that for every thousand of foreign troops which the prince could bring into the field, his army would receive an accession, four times as large, from the English people, who only wanted the presence of a foreign force to encourage them to take up arms against the government.

The last days of October were occupied in making the necessary arrangements for the march of the Highland army, preparatory to which, orders were issued, near the end of that month, to call in the different parties which were posted at Newhaven, Leith, and other places in the vicinity of Edinburgh. The army which for three weeks after the battle of Preston had lain in camp at Duddingston had, since the middle of October, been quartered in and around the city; but on the twenty-sixth of that month the main body left Edinburgh, and encamped on a field a little to the west of Inveresk church, with a battery of seven or eight pieces of cannon pointing to the southwest. Hitherto Charles, to conceal his weakness, had reviewed his army in de-

tached portions; but he now ordered a general review of his whole force on the twenty-eighth of October. The place appointed was Leith links; but being warned by a few bombs which were thrown from the castle as the army was approaching the ground, that he might expect some annoyance, Charles abandoned his intention, and reviewed his army on the sands between Leith and Musselburgh.

Of the deportment of Charles, and the mode in which he spent his time during his abode at Holyrood house, it may now be necessary to say a few words. It has been already stated on the authority of an officer in his army, whose memoirs are quoted by Mr. Home, that before the meeting of his council, Charles held a levee. The same writer adds, that after the rising of the Council, which generally sat very long, he dined in public with his principal officers, and that while the army lay at Duddingston he rode out there after dinner, accompanied by his life-guards. The object of these visits was to keep the Highlanders together; and to show them that the change of circumstances had not altered his dispositions towards them he frequently supped and slept in the camp.

Another writer, an eye-witness, says that the prince's court at Holyrood soon became very brilliant, and that every day from morning to night there was a vast concourse of well-dressed people. Besides the gentlemen that had joined the prince, there was a great number of ladies and gentlemen who came either from affection or curiosity. People flocked from all quarters to see the novelty of a court which had not been held in Scotland for sixty years, and from its splendour, and the air of satisfaction which appeared in every person's countenance, one would have thought the king was already restored, and in peaceable possession of all the

dominions of his ancestors, and that the prince had only made a trip to Scotland to show himself to the people, and receive their homage. The conduct of Charles corresponded in all respects with the attentions shown him. He professed the warmest attachment to Scotland, and was often heard to say, that should he succeed in his attempt, he would make Scotland his Hanover, and Holyrood house his Herenhausen, an expression by which he not only marked his devotion to the Scotch nation, but conveyed a severe rebuke upon King George, who was justly accused of an undue predilection for his native soil.

To mark his sense of the respect shown him, and to ingratiate himself still more with his new friends, Charles gave a series of balls and entertainments in the palace, which were attended by all the persons of rank and fashion assembled in the capital. On these occasions, the young Chevalier appeared sometimes in an English court-dress with the blue ribbon, star, and other insignia of the order of the garter, and at other times in a Highland dress of fine silk tartan, with crimson velvet breeches, and the cross of St. Andrew. His politeness, affability, and condescension were the theme of universal conversation. Captivated by the charms of his conversation, the graces of his person, and the unwearied attentions which he bestowed on them, the ladies entered warmly into the prince's views; and their partisanship became so available to his cause as to attract, as we have seen, the especial attention of President Forbes. Indeed, so strong was the hold which the spirit of Jacobitism had taken of the hearts of the ladies of Edinburgh, that when afterward overawed by the presence of an English army, they, nevertheless, continued to wear the Jacobite badge, and treated the approaches of the Duke of Cumberland's officers with supercilious

indifference. As Charles was almost wholly destitute of every household requisite, his female friends sent plate, china, linen, and other articles of domestic use to the palace.

At the present stage of this history, it seems proper to record a manifesto which emanated from Charles's army on the eve of its departure for England, which, as an historical document of considerable interest, shall be given entire. It was titled: "The declaration and admonitory letter of such of the nobility, gentry, and free-born subjects of his Majesty, as, under the auspicious conduct of his Royal Highness, Charles, Prince of Wales, steward of Scotland, etc., have taken up arms in support of the cause of their king and country." And was addressed "unto those who have not as yet declared their approbation of this enterprise; and to such as have, or may hereafter, appear in arms against it."

"COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS: — It is with abundance of regret, and not without indignation, that we daily hear and see this our undertaking, which in glory and disinterestedness may vie with any to be met with, either in ancient or modern history, traduced, misrepresented, and reviled in those fulsome addresses and associations made to and in favours of the Elector of Hanover, by those very bishops of the church of England, who, for so many years, have contributed their utmost endeavours to abet and support every measure the most unpopular, pernicious, and hurtful, that the worst of ministers, be he of what party he would, could ever devise for the undoing of these nations.

"Is it from such patterns of virtue and piety that the nation now must take the alarm? Are we by these old

bugbears of popery, slavery, and tyranny, for ever to be hindered from pursuing our only true interest? Or, is the groundless fear of an imaginary evil to prevent our shaking off the heavy yoke we daily feel?

"What further security, in the name of God, can a people desire for the enjoyment of their ecclesiastical rights? Have not both the king and prince regent sworn in the most solemn manner to maintain the Protestant religion throughout his Majesty's dominions? Nay, more, have they not promised to pass any laws which shall be thought necessary for the further security of it? Are we not Protestants who now address you? And is it not by the strength of a Protestant army that he must mount the throne? Can any man, or number of men, persuade you, that we, who are your brethren, born in the same island, and who have the same interest, do not love ourselves, our religion, laws and liberties, as well as you do?

"What further security can the nature of the thing admit of? You have your prince's promises, and here you have laid before you the sentiments of his army; who, having thankfully accepted of them, are determined and resolved to set their country at liberty, by establishing that glorious plan which has been freely offered to us by the only rightful prince of the British nations; and this must be done before we sheathe our swords.

"Our enemies have represented us as men of low birth and of desperate fortunes. We, who are now in arms, are, for the greatest part, of the most ancient families of this island, whose forefathers asserted the liberties of their country, long, long before the names of many of our declaimers were ever heard of. Our blood is good, and that our actions shall make appear. If our fortunes be not great, our virtue has kept them low; and des-

perate we may be truly called, for we are determined to conquer or die.

"The justice, therefore, of the cause we now appear for, the interest of the nation which we support and pursue, and the glorious character of our royal leader, may each by itself, or all together, abundantly convince the nation, that now at last there appears an happy and unforeseen opportunity of acquiring all those blessings which a distrest nation has been so long wishing for in vain.

"This golden opportunity we have laid hold of; and in justice to ourselves and fellow-subjects, are obliged thus to apprise them of the uprightness of our intentions in carrying into execution a scheme calculated and adapted to those principles of liberty which the true lovers of their country have been polishing and refining for these many years past.

"Perhaps you may find fault that you were not apprised of this undertaking. No more were we. God has conducted, the Prince of Wales has executed; and we are thereby in possession of Scotland, and victorious over one of the elector's armies, which nothing could have saved from total destruction but the authority and mercy of a young conqueror, possest of all the shining virtues which can adorn a throne, and who may challenge the keenest enemy of his royal family to impute to him a vice which can blacken the character of a prince. Compare his clemency towards all the prisoners and wounded at the battle of Gladsmuir, with the executions, imprisonments, and banishments, exercised by the German family after their success at Preston in the year 1715, and your affections will tell you who is the true father of the people.

"We have hitherto only spoke to your interests. When his Royal Highness comes himself amongst you,

let his appearance, his moderation, his affability, his tenderness and affection for those he can truly call his countrymen, speak to your passions; then you who, at the instigation of your enemies, are now arming for the defence, as you imagine, of your respective communities, will be able to judge from whom you will have the best reason to expect protection. Thus far we can take upon us to promise in his Highness's name, that such as shall make no resistance to our troops, though before our arrival they may have been levying war against us, may nevertheless depend upon the most ample security for their person and estates, provided, by a timely surrender of their arms, they put in our power to protect them against the fury of the army: and how foolish will it be, after this assurance, for any city, corporation, or county, to attempt to make head against the combined force of a whole nation, collected in a numerous army, and flushed with success? If any misfortune, therefore, ensue from a disregard of this admonition, we of his Royal Highness's army declare ourselves free of all blame therein.

"It is time for you now, O countrymen! to lay aside all animosities, all distinctions of families or names, and to confine your thoughts only to the interest of these kingdoms, connecting with them as you go along the sentiments you had a few years ago.

"What transport of joy would the bulk of the British nation have felt upon a certain remarkable and never-to-be-forgotten period in our political history (that great change of ministry which happened not long ago, when the cries of a distressed people, supported by the interest and influence of powerful, though designing men, accomplished the ruin of a mighty minister), how great would have been your joy had you then had from the Elector of Hanover such a declaration as that emitted

the tenth of this month by his Royal Highness, the heir and representative of our natural and only rightful sovereign?

"Is it possible to conceive the universal satisfaction which such a declaration would have occasioned, unless we judge of it by our fatal disappointment? We leave it to yourselves to make the application. As it is not our intention here to set forth the domestic grievances of the nation, nor the scandalous preference showed upon all occasions to a pitiful foreign concern, — for as we address ourselves chiefly to the friends of liberty and the constitution, we suppose you all abundantly instructed in them, — nor would it serve but to lengthen this letter, to enumerate the many promises in the king's and prince's declarations and manifestoes to his subjects upon this occasion, we have abundantly explained our own motives for now appearing in arms, and would willingly use a little serious expostulation with you, gentlemen, who intend to oppose us.

"What then, in the name of God, do you propose to yourselves? Is it also the interest of Great Britain and Ireland? Or, is it the support of the Elector of Hanover's family in the succession to the crown of these realms? If your armaments proceed from the first of these motives, tell us what a prince can do more to make you a free and a happy people? What security can you have more than his word and his army's guarantee, until the nation shall have time abundantly to secure themselves by Parliament?

"If you be satisfied with the promises made you, and the security of the performance, do you disapprove of this method of bringing about the execution by force of arms? If you do, be so good as suggest another equally efficacious.

"That by Parliament, indeed, would have been

universally the most acceptable; but we cannot be so infatuated as to remain in eternal bondage, unless a Parliament, composed of hirelings, should set us at liberty; nor have we any hopes that the elector will strip himself of that pecuniary influence by which alone he has carried, over the bellies of the nation, every destructive measure.

" On the other hand, if the dispute is to be, whether the Stuart or Hanoverian family shall reign over Great Britain, without reference to the interest of the nation, we need use no other argument than the sword with such as shall oppose us upon these principles.

" To conclude, we desire to lay this important question before you in a new light. Suppose, for it is only a supposition, that this dreadful and unnatural rebellion, as you are taught to call it, should be extinguished and quashed, and every man concerned in it executed on a scaffold; your joy, no doubt, would be very great upon so glorious an event; your addresses would then be turned into thanksgivings; your Parliament would then meet and cloath your beloved sovereign with new powers; your standing army, which has hitherto been looked upon as the bane of the constitution, would then be consecrated as your deliverers; and the reverend bishops of the church of England would be hailed from the most distant corners of the island by the glorious appellation of patriots and protectors of British liberty. O happy, thrice happy nation, who have such an army and such a bench of bishops ready upon this occasion to rescue them from popery, from slavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power!

" When, indeed, the first transport of your joy would be over, — for you are not to expect that these halcyon days are ever to remain, — you might perhaps find, to your fatal experience, that the constitution of your

country was not in the least improved; and upon the return of the unavoidable consequences of those evils all along complained of, and which now you have so fair an opportunity of having redressed, you would at last be sensible that we were those who, in truth, deserved the appellation of deliverers, patriots, and protectors of the British liberty. But this last part of our letter is addressed only to such as we expect to meet with in a field of battle, and we are hopeful that those will prove but an inconsiderable part of the nations of Great Britain and Ireland; and that you, our countrymen and fellow-subjects, upon being advised and informed, as you now have been, of the whole plan of this glorious expedition, will cheerfully join issue with us, and share in the glory of restoring our king and in setting our country free, which, by the strength of our arm, the assistance of our allies, and the blessing of Almighty God, we shortly expect to see accomplished."

Whilst the prince and his partisans were thus spreading the seeds of insurrection, and endeavouring to improve the advantages they had gained, the ministry of Great Britain, aroused to a just sense of the impending danger, took every possible measure to retard the progress of the insurrection. King George had returned to London on the thirty-first of August. He met with a cordial reception from the nobility and gentry in the capital, and loyal addresses were voted by all the principal cities, and towns, and corporations in the kingdom. A demand was made upon the states-general for the six thousand men stipulated by treaty, part of whom were landed at Berwick the day after Cope's defeat. Three battalions of guards, and seven regiments of foot, were ordered home from Flanders, and a cabinet council was held at Kensington on the thirteenth of September,

which directed letters to be sent to the lords lieutenants and *custodes rotulorum* of the counties of England and Wales to raise the militia. Marshal Wade was despatched to the north of England to take the command of the forces in that quarter, and two regiments, of one thousand each, were ordered to be transported from Dublin to Chester. A number of blank commissions was, as has been before stated, sent to the north of Scotland to raise independent companies; the Earl of Loudon was despatched to Inverness to take the command, and two ships of war were successively sent down with arms to the same place.

As popery had been formerly a serviceable bugbear to alarm the people for their religion and liberties, some of the English bishops issued mandates, to their clergy, enjoining them to instil into their people "a just abhorrence of popery" and of arbitrary power, both of which they supposed to be inseparably connected; a proceeding which formed a singular contrast with the conduct of their brethren, the Scottish Protestant Episcopal clergy, who to a man were zealously desirous of restoring the Stuarts, apart from such considerations. The clergy attended to the injunctions they had received, and their admonitions were not without effect. Associations were speedily formed in every county, city, and town in England, of any consideration, in defence of the religion and liberties of the nation, and all persons, of whatever rank or degree, seemed equally zealous to protect both.

The Parliament met on the seventeenth of October, and was informed by his Majesty that he had been obliged to call them together sooner than he intended, in consequence of an unnatural rebellion which had broken out and was still continued in Scotland, to suppress and extinguish which rebellion he craved the immediate

advice and assistance of the Parliament. Both Houses voted addresses, in which they gave his Majesty the strongest assurances of duty and affection to his person and government, and promised to adopt measures commensurate with the danger. The habeas corpus act was suspended for six months, and several persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices. The Duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands shortly after the opening of the session, and on the twenty-fifth of October a large detachment of cavalry and infantry arrived in the Thames from Flanders. The train-bands of London were reviewed by his Majesty on the twenty-eighth; the county regiments were completed; and the persons who had associated themselves in different parts of the kingdom as volunteers, were daily employed in the exercise of arms. Apprehensive of an invasion from France, the government appointed Admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs, to watch the motions of the enemy by sea. Cruisers were stationed along the French coast, particularly off Dunkirk and Boulogne, which captured several ships destined for Scotland with officers, soldiers, and ammunition for the use of the insurgents.

The birthday of George the Second, which fell on the thirtieth of October, was celebrated throughout the whole of England with extraordinary demonstrations of loyalty. Many extravagant scenes were enacted, which, though they may now appear ludicrous and absurd, were deemed by the actors in them as deeds of the purest and most exalted patriotism. In Scotland, however, with one remarkable exception, the supporters of government did not venture upon any public display. The exception alluded to was the town of Perth, some of whose inhabitants took possession of the church and steeple about midday, and rang the bells. Oliphant of

Gask, who had been made deputy-governor of the town by the young Chevalier, and had under him a small party, sent to desire those who rang the bells to desist; but they refused to comply, and continued ringing at intervals until midnight, two hours after the ordinary time. Mr. Oliphant, with his small guard and three or four gentlemen, posted themselves in the council-house, in order to secure about fourteen hundred small arms, some ammunition, etc., belonging to the Highland army, deposited there and in the adjoining jail. At night seven north country gentlemen, in the Jacobite interest, came to town with their servants, and immediately joined their friends in the council-house. When it grew dark the mob made bon-fires in the streets, and ordered the inhabitants to illuminate their windows, an order which was generally obeyed, and the few that refused had their windows broken. About nine o'clock at night a party sallied from the council-house, and marching up the street to disperse the mob, fired upon and wounded three of them. The mob, exasperated by this attack, rushed in upon the party, and disarmed and wounded some of them. After this rencounter the mob placed guards at all the gates of the town, took possession of the main-guard and rung the fire-bell, by which they drew together about two hundred people. They thereupon sent a message to Mr. Oliphant, requiring him to withdraw immediately from the town and yield up the arms, ammunition, etc., to them. Mr. Oliphant having refused, they rang the fire-bell a second time, and hostilities commenced about two o'clock in the morning, which continued about three hours. The people fired at the council-house from the heads of lanes, from behind stairs, and from windows, so that the party within could not look out without the greatest hazard. About five o'clock the mob dispersed. An

Irish captain in the French service was killed in the council-house, and three or four of Mr. Oliphant's party were wounded. Of the mob, who had none to conduct them, four were wounded. To preserve order, about sixty of Lord Nairne's men were brought into the town next day, and these were soon thereafter joined by about 130 Highlanders.

CHAPTER VI

HIGHLAND ARMY IN ENGLAND

When Charles's resolution to march into England was finally agreed to by his officers, the next thing to be determined was the route they should take. After some deliberation the council advised the prince to march straight to Berwick, of which town they thought he could easily make himself master, and thence to march to Newcastle and give battle to Marshal Wade, who had collected a force in the neighbourhood of that town. If victorious, the prince was to march to London by the east coast, so as to favour the disembarkation of any troops that France might send over destined to land on that coast. But this plan, though unanimously approved of, was overturned by Lord George Murray, who was of a very different opinion from the rest of the council. In presence of several of the principal officers of the army he represented the plan of a march along the east coast as an affair of great difficulty, and that its advantages, if it really had any, would be more than compensated by the loss of time it would occasion, which at the present juncture was very precious. He therefore proposed that the army should march into England by the western road, and that to conceal its route it should march in two columns, one by Kelso, — a movement which would indicate as if their intention was to enter by Woolerhaughead, — and the other column by Moffat, so that both columns could easily join near Carlisle, on a day to be appointed. Finding

that Lord George's arguments had prevailed with most of the officers, Charles agreed to his lordship's scheme, though he considered the route by Berwick as the better of the two.

Preparatory to their march the insurgents removed their camp to a strong position to the west of Dalkeith, six miles south of Edinburgh, having that town on their left, the rivulet South Esk in front, the North Esk in their rear, with an opening on their right towards Polton. From this camp a detachment was sent with three pieces of cannon to secure the pass of the Forth above Stirling, lest Lord Loudon should march south with the independent companies he was forming, and attempt to force the passage.

In the evening of Thursday, the thirty-first of October, Prince Charles finally left Holyrood house accompanied by his life-guards, and several of the clan regiments, amid the regrets of a vast concourse of spectators, most of whom were never to see him again. He slept that night at Pinkie house, and went next morning to Dalkeith, and took up his quarters in Dalkeith house, the seat of the Duke of Buccleugh. On that day he was joined by the Clan Pherson, under the command of their chief, Macpherson of Cluny, by Menzies of Shien and his men, and some small parties of Highlanders, amounting in whole to between nine and ten hundred men.

At this period the state of the army was as follows. Beginning with the cavalry, the first troop of horse-guards, which was commanded by Lord Elcho, consisted of sixty-two gentlemen with their servants, under five officers. It amounted in all to 120. The second troop, which was commanded by the Honourable Arthur Elphinstone, afterward Lord Balmerino, was not complete, and did not exceed forty horse. A small squad-

ron, called the horse-grenadiers, was commanded by the Earl of Kilmarnock, with which were incorporated some Perthshire gentlemen, in absence of Lord Strathallan their commander, who had been appointed governor of Perth and commander of the Jacobite forces in Scotland during the stay of the Highland army in England. These last, united, amounted to nearly a hundred. Lord Pitsligo was at the head of the Aberdeen and Banffshire gentlemen, who, with their servants, amounted to about 120; and besides those enumerated, there was a party of between seventy and eighty hussars, under the nominal command of Secretary Murray as colonel, but in reality under the direction of one, Baggot, an Irish officer, who had lately arrived from France. The infantry, all of whom wore the Highland garb, consisted of thirteen battalions or regiments, six of which consisted of the clans, properly so called; of these six regiments, three were of the Macdonalds, and the other three were each composed of the Camerons, the Stewarts of Appin, and the Macphersons. Three regiments of Athole men, commonly called the Athole brigade, the regiments of the Duke of Perth, Lord Ogilvy, Glenbucket, and Roy Stewart, made up the thirteen regiments. Of the infantry, which amounted to about five thousand men, about four thousand were real Highlanders. Thus the total amount of the army did not exceed six thousand men.[20]

The clan regiments, according to custom, were commanded by their respective chiefs; but in some instances, in the absence of the chief, the regiment of the clan was commanded by his son, and failing both, by the nearest kinsman of the chief. In these regiments every company had two captains, two lieutenants, and two ensigns, all of whom were generally related, by ties

of blood, to the chief. The pay of a captain in the army was half-a-crown *per diem*; that of a lieutenant two shillings; and of an ensign one shilling and sixpence, without deduction. The front rank of each clan regiment was composed of persons who were considered gentlemen by birth, though without fortune or means. The pay of these was one shilling *per diem*. The gentlemen in the front rank were better armed than the men in the rear rank. All the former had targets, which many of the latter had not. When fully armed, as was generally the case, every gentleman of the front rank carried a musket and broadsword, with a pair of pistols and a dirk stuck in the belt which surrounded his body. In some rare instances another dagger was stuck within the garter of the right leg, to be used in cases of emergency. A target, formed of wood and leather thickly studded with nails, covered the left arm, and enabled the wearer to parry and protect himself from the shots or blows of an assailant.

Thus armed, the success of a Highland army depended more upon individual bravery than upon combined efforts, and their manner of fighting was, as the Chevalier Johnstone observes, adapted for brave but undisciplined troops. "They advance," says that writer, "with rapidity, discharge their pieces when within musket length of the enemy, and then, throwing them down, draw their swords, and holding a dirk in their left hand with their target, they dart with fury on the enemy through the smoke of their fire. When within reach of the enemy's bayonets, bending their left knee, they, by their attitude, cover their bodies with their targets that receive their thrusts of the bayonets, which they contrive to parry, while at the same time they raise their sword-arm, and strike their adversary. Having once got within the bayonets, and into the ranks of

the enemy, the soldiers have no longer any means of defending themselves, the fate of the battle is decided in an instant, and the carnage follows, the Highlanders bringing down two men at a time, one with their dirk in the left hand, and another with the sword. The reason assigned by the Highlanders for their custom of throwing their muskets on the ground is not without its force. They say they embarrass them in their operations, even when slung behind them, and on gaining a battle they can pick them up along with the arms of their enemies; but if they should be beaten, they have no occasion for muskets. They themselves proved that bravery may supply the place of discipline at times, as discipline supplies the place of bravery. The attack is so terrible, that the best troops in Europe would with difficulty sustain the first shock of it; and if the swords of the Highlanders once come in contact with them, their defeat is inevitable."

In entering upon such a desperate enterprise as the invasion of England with the handful of men he had mustered, Charles certainly must have calculated on being supported by a large party in that country. Indeed, his chief reason for urging such a step was the numerous assurances he alleged he had received from his friends in that kingdom, that he would be joined by a very considerable body of the people; but there seems reason to believe that, in his expectations of support, he was guided almost solely by the reports of his agents, and that he had very little communication with any of the parties on whose support he relied. In a memoir which the prince presented to the King of France on his return from Scotland, he states that, if after the battle of Preston he had had three thousand regular troops under his command, in addition to his other forces, he could have penetrated into England,

and marched to London, without opposition, as none of the English troops which were on the continent had arrived; but the case was now widely different, and without a general rising, it was next to impossible to succeed in the face of a large regular army, which was assembling at different points, supported by a numerous militia.

Pursuant to the plan of Lord George Murray, the advanced guard of the first division of the army left Dalkeith on the evening of Friday, the first of November, and took the road to Peebles. The main body, consisting of the Athole brigade, the Duke of Perth's regiment, the regiments of Lord Ogilvy, Glenbucket, and Roy Stewart, and the greater part of the horse, followed next day. The artillery and baggage were sent along with this column. This division was under the command of the Marquis of Tullibardine. The second division, which consisted of the life-guards and the clan regiments, headed by the prince in person, marched from Dalkeith on the third of November in the direction of Kelso. The guards formed the van, and the prince marched on foot at the head of the clans with his target over his shoulder. It was supposed that he would have mounted his horse after proceeding a mile or two; but, to the surprise of every person, he marched on foot the whole day, and continued the same practice during the whole of the expedition, wading through mud and snow, and it was with difficulty that he could be prevailed upon to get on horseback, even to cross a river. The example he thus set to his men, joined to the condescension and affability he displayed, endeared him to the army. Charles arrived at Lauder the same night, and took up his residence in Thirlstane castle, the seat of the Earl of Lauderdale. Hearing that some of his men had lagged behind, he got on horseback

about daybreak, and, riding back two or three miles, brought up the most of the stragglers.

After despatching part of his men by a middle course towards Selkirk and Hawick, the prince next day marched to Kelso. As Marshal Wade was supposed to be on his way north from Newcastle, Charles sent his life-guards across the Tweed, not so much for the purpose of reconnoitring, as for amusing the enemy. After advancing several miles on the road to Newcastle, they halted at a village, and made some inquiries as to quarters and accommodation for the army, which they stated was on its march to Newcastle. Charles even sent orders to Wooler, a town on the road to Newcastle, to provide quarters for his army. The design was to keep Wade in suspense, and draw off his attention from the movements of the Highland army upon Carlisle. While at Kelso, Charles sent a party of between thirty and forty men across the Tweed to proclaim his father upon English ground. Having performed the ceremony, they returned to Kelso. The prince remained at Kelso till the sixth of November, on the morning of which day he crossed the Tweed. The river was scarcely fordable, but the men were in high spirits, and when up to the middle in the water, they expressed the ardour they felt by setting up a loud shout and discharging their pieces. After crossing the river, the prince turned to the left, and marched towards Jedburgh, where he arrived in a few hours.

As his next route lay through a dreary waste of considerable extent, he halted at Jedburgh for the night, to refresh his men, and departed early next morning. Marching up Rule water, Charles led his men into Liddisdale over the Knot o' the Gate, and, after a fatiguing march of about twenty-five miles, arrived at Haggiehaugh upon Liddel water, where he slept. Charles

marched down Liddel water on the following day, being Friday, the eighth of November, and entered England in the evening. When crossing the border, the Highlanders drew their swords, and gave a hearty huzza; but a damp came over their spirits, on learning that Lochiel had cut his hand in the act of unsheathing his sword, an occurrence which the Highlanders, with superstitious proneness, regarded as a bad omen. Charles lay at Reddings in Cumberland that night. The division belonging to the prince's column, consisting of horse, which had taken the middle route by Hawick and Langholm, reached Longtown the same day.

While the eastern division was thus moving in a circuitous direction to the appointed place of rendezvous near Carlisle, the western column, which started on the road to Peebles, was following a more direct route by Moffat, and down Annandale. This division entered England near Longtown. On the ninth of November, Charles marched with his division to Rowcliff, four miles below Carlisle, where he crossed the river Eden, and quartered his men in the villages on the west side of the city. In the afternoon, Charles was joined by the greater part of the other division, under the Marquis of Tullibardine. This march was judiciously planned, and was executed with such precision, that scarcely two hours elapsed between the arrival of the two main divisions at the appointed place of rendezvous. The march, according to the Chevalier Johnstone, resembled on a small scale that of Marshal Saxe, a few years before, when he advanced to lay siege to Maestricht.

The plan for deceiving Marshal Wade succeeded so well, that that commander, who had now an army of eleven thousand men under him, had no idea that the Highland army was marching on Carlisle, and accordingly directed his whole attention to the protection of

Newcastle. Such was the secrecy with which the motions of the army were conducted, that, with the exception of Charles and his principal officers, no person knew its real destination. On arriving in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, the prince's army had been diminished some hundreds by desertion.

The city of Carlisle, the capital of Cumberland, had formerly been a place of great strength, and had, during the wars between England and Scotland, been considered as one of the keys of England on the side of Scotland; but since the union of the crowns, its fortifications had been allowed to fall into decay. It was surrounded by walls flanked with towers, and a fosse or ditch. The city was protected by a castle on the northwest, supposed to be as old as the time of William Rufus, and by a citadel on the southeast, erected in the reign of Henry the Eighth. The castle, on the present occasion, was well furnished with artillery, and was garrisoned by a company of invalids; but, like the city, its fortifications were not in good repair. To aid the inhabitants in defending the city, the whole militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland had been assembled within its walls.

When approaching the city on the ninth, a party of the prince's horse advanced to Stanwix Bank, a small hill near Carlisle, to reconnoitre; but they were forced to retire by a few shots from the castle. The whole of the army having passed the Eden next day, Charles proceeded to invest the city on all sides. One of his parties, in marching round from the Irish to the English gate, was fired upon both from the castle and the town, but did not sustain any loss. Having completed the investment, the prince, about noon, sent a letter to the mayor of the city, requiring him to open its gates, and allow the army to enter in a peaceable manner, and

promising, in case of compliance, to protect the city from insult; but threatening an assault in the event of a refusal. The prince stated, that should an assault be made, he might not have it in his power to prevent the dreadful consequences which usually befall a city captured in that way. An answer was required within two hours, but none was given, and a discharge of cannon from the besieged announced their determination to hold out. In consequence of this reception, the trenches were opened at night, under the orders of the Duke of Perth, at the distance of eighty yards from the walls. Mr. Grant, an Irish officer, of Lally's regiment, who had lately arrived from France, and who was an experienced engineer, ably availing himself of some ditches, approached close to the city without suffering from the fire of the besieged. The artillery consisted of six Swedish field-pieces, which had been received from France, and of the pieces which had been taken at Preston.

Having received intelligence that Marshal Wade was advancing from Newcastle to relieve Carlisle, and that he had already arrived at Hexham, Charles resolved to meet him on some of the hilly grounds between Newcastle and Carlisle. Leaving, therefore, a sufficient force to blockade Carlisle, he departed with the remainder of the army on the morning of the eleventh, and reached Warwick castle about ten o'clock. He then despatched Colonel Ker forward with a party of horse, in the direction of Hexham, to reconnoitre, and ordered his men to take up their quarters for the night. Ker, having ascertained that the news of Wade's march was false, returned to Brampton, and made his report. After waiting two days at Brampton without hearing anything of Wade, a council of war was held, at which several opinions were offered. One opinion, in

which Charles concurred, was that the army should advance to Newcastle, and give battle to Wade. Some of the council thought that this would be a dangerous step, for even were they to defeat the marshal, his army might take refuge in Newcastle, which it was in vain for them to think of taking, as, besides the strength of the place, the army had lost many men upon its march. Others were for returning to Scotland till joined by a greater body of their friends; but Lord George Murray opposed all these views, and proposed, that while one part of the party should besiege and blockade Carlisle, the other should remain at Brampton. The Duke of Perth seconded this opinion, and offered to undertake the charge of the battery, if Lord George would take the command of the blockade. The council having all agreed to Lord George's proposal, six of the Lowland regiments were sent to blockade the town, besides the Duke of Perth's, which was to be employed on the battery.

Whilst the main body of the army was at Brampton, the party left before the city occupied themselves in cutting down wood in Corby and Warwick parks, with which they made scaling-ladders, fascines, and carriages. On the thirteenth, about noon, the regiments appointed for the blockade and siege of the city reappeared before it. Lord George Murray took up his quarters at Harbery, and posted his men in the villages around the city to stop all communication with it. The besieging party broke ground in the evening within musket shot of the walls, about half-way between the English and Scotch gates. A constant firing was kept up from the city; but as these operations were carried on under cloud of night, the party in the trenches received no injury. Having completed their battery, the besiegers brought up their whole cannon, con-

sisting of thirteen pieces, to play upon the town. Next morning the fire from the garrison was renewed, but with little effect, and the besiegers, instead of returning the fire, held up their bonnets on the end of their spades in derision.

Alarmed by the preparations of the Highlanders, and the state of affairs within the city, a meeting of the inhabitants was held, at which it was resolved to surrender the town. For seven days the garrison of the city, kept in constant alarm by the Highlanders, had scarcely enjoyed an hour's continued repose; and while many of the men had, from illness, absolutely refused to assist any longer in the defence of the city, numbers were hourly leaving the city clandestinely by slipping over the walls; so that in several cases the officers of some companies had not more than three or four men left. In this state of matters the only alternative was a surrender; and as a crisis appeared to be at hand, a white flag was exhibited from the walls, and a messenger despatched to the Duke of Perth to request terms. His Grace sent an express to Brampton to know the prince's pleasure; but his Royal Highness refused to grant any terms to the city unless the castle surrendered at the same time. At the request of the mayor, a cessation of arms was granted till next day; but before the time expired, Colonel Durand, the commander of the castle, agreed to surrender the fortress along with the town. The conditions were, that the liberties and properties of the inhabitants, and all the privileges of the town, should be preserved inviolate; that both garrisons, on taking an oath not to serve against the house of Stuart for one year, should be allowed to retire; and that all the arms and ammunition in the castle and the city, and all the horses belonging to the militia, should be delivered up to the prince. This

capitulation was signed by the Duke of Perth and Colonel Durand on the night of the fourteenth.

Next morning at ten o'clock the Duke of Perth entered the city at the head of his regiment, and was followed by the other regiments at one o'clock in the afternoon. The castle, however, was not given up till next morning. The Duke of Perth shook hands with the men of the garrison, told them they were brave fellows, and offered them a large bounty to enlist in the service of the prince. The mayor and his attendants went to Brampton, and delivered the keys of the city to the prince. Besides the arms of the militia, the duke found a thousand stand in the castle. He also found two hundred good horses in the city, and a large quantity of valuable effects in the castle, which had been lodged there by the gentry of the neighbourhood for safety.

On the day following the surrender, the Chevalier de St. George was proclaimed in the city with the usual formalities; and, to give greater éclat to the ceremony, the mayor and aldermen were compelled to attend with the sword and mace carried before them. Along with the other manifestoes formerly noticed, the following declaration for England, dated from Rome, twenty-third of December, 1743, was also read: —

" The love and affection we bear to our native country are so natural and inherent to us, that they could never be altered or diminished by a long and remote exile, nor the many hardships we have undergone during the whole course of our life, and we almost forget our own misfortunes, when we consider the oppression and tyranny under which our country has laboured so long. We have seen our people, for many years, groaning under the weight of most heavy taxes, and bearing many of the calamities of war, while the rest of Europe enjoyed all the blessings of peace. We have seen the

treasures of the nation applied to satiate private avarice, and lavished for the support of German dominions, or for carrying on of ambitious views, always foreign, and often contrary to the true interest of the nation. We have since seen the nation involved in wars, which have been and are carried on, without any advantage to Britain, and even to the manifest detriment and discouragement of its trade, and a great many of Hanoverians taken into the English pay and service in a most extraordinary manner, and at a most expensive rate; nor could we behold, without indignation, the preference and partiality shown, on all occasions, to these foreigners, and the notorious affronts put on the British troops. We have beheld with astonishment an universal corruption and dissolution of manners, encouraged and countenanced by those whose example and authority should have been employed to repress it, and a more than tacit connivance given to all irreligion and immorality. Bribery and corruption have been openly and universally practised, and no means neglected to seduce the great council of the nation, that it might be the more effectually enslaved by those who ought to be the guardians of its liberty. The manufactures of England are visibly going to decay; trade has been neglected, and even discouraged; and the very honour of the nation made a sacrifice to the passions of those who govern it.

" The unhappy state to which our subjects have been reduced by these and many other unjust and violent proceedings has constantly filled our royal heart with grief and concern, while our whole thoughts and study have been employed towards procuring the most speedy and effectual remedy to them, which we were always sensible could only be compassed by our restoration. This has ever been the principal view of the

several attempts we have made for the recovery of our just rights, without being discouraged by the disappointments with which we have hitherto met; but though Providence has permitted that iniquity and injustice should long prevail, we have all reason to hope that the time is at last come, in which the Divine mercy will put a period to these misfortunes. We see, with a sensible satisfaction, the eyes of the greatest part of our people opened to their present deplorable situation, and that they are convinced they can find no relief but by restoring their natural born prince, whose undoubted title will of course put an end to the many calamities they have suffered during the usurpation; and our satisfaction would be complete, could we owe our mutual happiness to ourselves and subjects alone, without the assistance of any foreign power; but should we find it necessary to employ any such, let our good subjects be assured, it is only to protect ourselves and them against those shoals of foreign mercenaries with which the elector fills the kingdom whenever he thinks himself in danger; and, therefore, to disperse all fears and jealousies from the hearts and minds of our subjects, and to convince them, as much as in us lies, of the happiness they may enjoy under our government, we have thought fit to unfold to them, in this solemn and public manner, the sincere sentiments of our royal and truly English heart.

"We hereby grant a free, full, and general pardon for all offences whatsoever hitherto committed against our royal father, or ourselves; to the benefit of which we shall deem justly entitled all such of our subjects as shall, after our appearing in arms by ourselves, our dearest son the Prince of Wales, our deputies, or the commanders of our auxiliary forces, testifying their willingness to accept of it, either by joining our troops with all

convenient diligence, by setting up our standard in other places, by repairing to any place where it shall be put up, or at least by openly renouncing all pretended allegiance to the usurper, and all obedience to his order, or those of any person or persons commissioned or employed by him.

"As soon as the public tranquillity shall permit, we solemnly promise to call and assemble a free Parliament, wherein no corruption nor undue influence of any kind whatsoever shall be used to bias the votes of the electors or the elected; and with a sincere and impartial advice and concurrence of the said Parliament, we shall be ready to settle all that may relate to the welfare of the kingdom, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters.

"We solemnly promise to protect, support, and maintain the church of England, as by law established, in all her rights, privileges, possessions, and immunities whatsoever; and we shall, on all occasions, bestow marks of our royal favour on the whole body of the clergy, but more particularly on those whose principles and practices shall best correspond with the dignity of their profession. We also solemnly promise to grant and allow the benefit of a toleration to all Protestant dissenters, being utterly averse to all persecution and animosity on account of conscience and religion.

"And as we are desirous to reign chiefly over the affections of our people, we shall be utterly averse to the suspending the habeas corpus act, as well as to the loading our subjects with unnecessary taxes, or raising any in a manner burdensome to them, and especially to the introducing of foreign excises, and to all such methods as may have been hitherto devised and pursued to acquire arbitrary power, at the expense of the liberty and property of the subject.

"It is our fixed resolution and intention, to distinguish, recompense, and employ men of merit and probity, who are true lovers of their country and of the church of England, as by law established. By such a conduct we hope the native genius and honour of the nation may be soon retrieved; and that those party-prejudices, divisions, and distinctions, which have so long prevailed, and have been so pernicious to the nation, may be buried in perpetual oblivion.

"As for the foreign troops employed in the present expedition, effectual care shall be taken to make them observe the strictest discipline while they stay, without offering the least injury to peaceable people; and we solemnly engage to send them home, as soon as the public tranquillity shall be judged by Parliament to allow of it, and even before a Parliament is assembled, if the posture of affairs shall permit it.

"In the meantime, we strictly charge and require all persons, who at the first news of our troops entering the kingdom, shall be seized of any sum or sums of money raised in the name, and for the use of the usurper, to keep the same in their hands, to be accounted for to us, or to pay it, when required, into the hands of any person of distinction, publicly appearing and acting for our service, whose receipt shall be a sufficient discharge for the said person or persons, their heirs, etc. But if they shall refuse or neglect to comply with these our orders, we hereby authorize and require all our generals, lieutenant-generals, and other officers, and all our faithful adherents, to seize, for our use, such sum or sums of money, as well as all horses, arms, artillery, accoutrements and ammunition, forage and provisions, as shall be found in the hands of those who shall not be willing to employ them in our service.

"We also command and require all those who bear any

military commission of arms, whether in the fleet, army, or militia, to use and employ them for our service; since they cannot but be sensible, that no engagements entered into with a foreign usurper can dispense with the allegiance they owe to us, their natural sovereign. And, as a farther encouragement to them to comply with their duty and our commands, we promise to every such officer the same, or a higher post, in our service, than that which they at present enjoy, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to them at the time of their declaring for us; and to every soldier, trooper, and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seaman and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year's pay to be given each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdom shall be in a state of tranquillity.

"And lastly, that this undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconveniency as possible to our subjects, we hereby authorize and require all civil officers and magistrates, now in place and office, to continue till farther orders to execute their respective employments in our name and by our authority, and to give strict obedience to such orders and directions, as may be issued out by those who will be vested with our authority and power.

"It is a subject of unspeakable concern to us to find ourselves, by a complication of different circumstances, under an absolute impossibility of heading ourselves this just and glorious undertaking, for the relief and happiness of our country. But we are in hopes, that the youth and vigour of our dearest son, the Prince of Wales, may abundantly enable him to supply our place. And therefore we have invested him with the title and power of regent of all our dominions, until such time as we can

ourselves arrive in them, which we shall do with all possible speed.

"Having thus sincerely, and in the presence of Almighty God, declared our true sentiments and intentions in this expedition, we once more charge and require all our loving subjects to concur with us to the utmost of their power, towards obtaining such desirable ends. For those who shall wilfully persist in their unnatural attachment to the usurper, and continue to act in consequence of it, they cannot but be sensible, that they are to expect no benefit from a pardon so graciously offered to them. But we heartily wish that none such may be found, but that all may be as ready to accept of our act of grace and oblivion as we are to grant it, it being our earnest desire that the very memory of past misfortunes and errors may be effaced, and that no obstacle may remain to perfect union betwixt king and people; which will be the more easily compassed, when they compare what they have suffered under the dominion of foreigners with what we here offer to them, and are firmly resolved to perform. Let therefore all true Englishmen join with us on this occasion in their country's cause, and be fully convinced, that we neither do nor shall propose to ourselves any other happiness or glory, but what shall arise from our effectually providing for the honour and welfare of the nation, and maintaining every part of its happy constitution both in church and state."

After the Chevalier had been proclaimed, and the different manifestoes read, the corporation went out to meet the prince, who entered the city under a general salute of artillery.

In many points of view the capture of Carlisle would have been of great importance to the prince, if he had been strong enough to have availed himself of the state

of terror which that event, and his subsequent advance into the very heart of England, had thrown the people of that kingdom; but his means were soon found quite inadequate to accomplish his end. Even if his resources had been much greater than ever they were, it seems doubtful whether the jealousies and dissensions, which, at an early period, began to distract his councils, would not have rendered all his exertions, for obtaining the great object of his ambition, unavailable.

The *origo mali*, the source of the discord, and all the misfortunes, as the Jacobites would say, that flowed from it, are attributed by an individual who had good opportunities of judging, and whose narrative appears to be impartial, to "the unbounded ambition of Secretary Murray, who from the beginning aimed at nothing less than the whole direction and management of everything. To this passion he sacrificed what chance there was of a restoration, though that was the foundation on which all his hopes were built. He had an opportunity of securing the prince's favour long enough before he could be rivalled. He was almost the only personal acquaintance the prince found in Scotland. It was he that had engaged the prince to make this attempt upon so slight a foundation, and the wonderful success that had hitherto attended it was placed to his account. The Duke of Perth, whose character indeed was well-known to the prince, judging of Murray's heart by his own, entertained the highest opinion of his integrity, went readily into all his schemes, and confirmed the prince in the esteem he had already conceived for Murray. After Mr. Kelly was gone, there was only Sir Thomas Sheridan and Mr. Sullivan, of those that had come along with the prince that had anything to say with him, and them Murray had gained entirely. Lord George Murray was the man the secretary dreaded most

as a rival. Lord George's birth, age, capacity, and experience would naturally give him great advantage over the secretary; but the secretary had got the start of him, and was determined to stick at nothing to maintain his ground.

"He began by representing Lord George as a traitor to the prince. He assured him that he had joined on purpose to have an opportunity of delivering him up to the government. It was hardly possible to guard against this imposture. The prince had the highest opinion of his secretary's integrity, and knew little of Lord George Murray, so the calumny had its full effect. Lord George soon came to know the suspicion the prince had of him, and was affected as one may easily enough imagine. To be sure, nothing could be more shocking to a man of honour, and one that was now for the third time venturing his life and fortune for the royal cause. The prince was partly undeceived by Lord George's gallant behaviour at the battle (of Preston), and had Lord George improved that opportunity, he might perhaps have gained the prince's favour, and got the better of the secretary; but his haughty and overbearing manner prevented a thorough reconciliation, and seconded the malice and malicious insinuations of his rival. Lord George did not altogether neglect making his court. Upon some occasions he was very obsequious and respectful, but had not temper to go through with it. He now and then broke out into such violent sallies, as the prince could not digest, though the situation of his affairs forced him to bear with them.

"The secretary's station and favour had attached to him such as were confident of success, and had nothing in view but making their fortunes. Nevertheless, Lord George had greater weight and influence in the council,

and generally brought the majority over to his opinion, which so irritated the ambitious secretary, that he endeavoured all he could to give the prince a bad impression of the council itself, and engaged to lay it entirely aside. He had like to have prevailed at Carlisle, but the council was soon resumed, and continued ever after to be held upon extraordinary emergencies. It was not in this particular only that Murray's ambition was detrimental to the prince's affairs. Though he was more jealous of Lord George Murray than of anybody (else), Lord George was not the only person he dreaded as a rival. There were abundance of gentlemen in the army, in no respect inferior to Mr. Murray, but his early favour gave him an opportunity of excluding most of them from the prince's presence and acquaintance. All those gentlemen that joined the prince after Murray were made known under the character he thought fit to give of them, and all employments about the prince's person, and many in the army, were of his nomination. These he filled with such as, he had reason to think, would never thwart his measures, but be content to be his tools and creatures without aspiring higher. Thus some places of the greatest trust and importance were given to little insignificant fellows, while there were abundance of gentlemen of figure and merit, that had no employment at all, and who might have been of great use had they been properly employed."

Till the siege of Carlisle, Secretary Murray had been able to disguise his jealousy of Lord George Murray, who, from his high military attainments, had been able hitherto to rule the council; but, on that occasion, the secretary displayed his hostility openly, and Lord George thereupon resigned his command as one of the lieutenant-generals of the army. The circumstances which led to the resignation of Lord George were these. It

appears that, before the blockading party left Brampton, he desired Charles to give him some idea of the terms his Royal Highness would accept of from Carlisle, not with the view of obtaining powers to conclude a capitulation, but merely to enable him to adjust the terms according to the prince's intentions, and thereby save a great deal of time. Charles not being able to come to any resolution before Lord George's departure, his lordship begged of him to send his instructions after him, that he might know how to conduct himself in the event of an offer of surrender by the city; but the secretary interposed, and told Lord George plainly, that he considered the terms of capitulation as a matter within his province, and with which Lord George had no right to interfere. Lord George has not communicated the answer he gave to Murray on this occasion. The part of the army destined for the blockade, though willing to take its turn along with the rest of the army, was averse to bear the whole burden of it. Their commander was aware of this feeling, and, in a letter written to his brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine, from his headquarters at Harbery, on the fourteenth of November, at five o'clock in the morning, proposed a plan which he thought would satisfy both parties. After alluding to the indefatigable exertions of the Duke of Perth, who had himself wrought in the trenches to encourage his men to erect the battery, and the great difficulties he had to encounter from the nature of the ground, Lord George requested the marquis to represent to the prince, that the men posted upon the blockade would not expose themselves, either in trenches or in the open air within cannon shot, or even within musket shot of the town, but by turns with the rest of the army; and he proposed that it should be decided by lot who should mount guard the first night, second night, and so on.

To carry the views of his men into effect, Lord George proposed the following plan, subject to the approval of a council of war, viz., that fifty men should be draughted out of each of the battalions that remained at Brampton, with proper officers, and at least two majors out of the six battalions; and that these should be sent to Butcherly, within a mile of the battery; and that as 150 men might be a sufficient guard for the battery, the six battalions would in this way furnish two guards, in addition to which, he proposed that two additional guards should be draughted, one from the Athole brigade, and the other from General Gordon's and Lord Ogilvy's regiments; and, by the time these four guards had served in rotation, he reckoned that the city would be taken, or the blockade removed. A council of war was held at Brampton upon this proposal, which came to the resolution, that as soon as the whole body, which formed the blockade, had taken their turn as guards, the division of the army at Brampton should march in a body, and form the blockade, but that no detachments should be sent from the different corps; nor did the council think it fair to order any such, as these corps had had all the fatigue and danger of the blockade of Edinburgh.

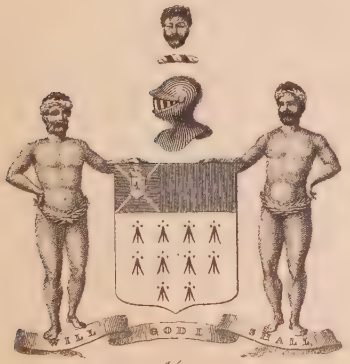
Such were the circumstances which preceded the resignation of Lord George Murray, who, in a letter to Prince Charles, dated the fifteenth of November, threw up his commission, assigning as his reason the little weight which his advice, as a general officer, had with his Royal Highness. He, however, stated, that as he had ever had a firm attachment to the house of Stuart, "and in particular to the king," he would serve as a volunteer, and that it was his design to be that night in the trenches. In a letter, which he wrote the same day to the Marquis of Tullibardine, he stated that he was constantly at a

Murray

Macfarlane

Colquhoun

Farquharson



Menzies

Cameron

loss to know what was going on in the army, and that he was determined never again to act as an officer; but that as a volunteer, he would show that no man wished more to the cause, and that he would do all in his power to advance the service. At the request of the marquis, who informed Lord George that Charles wished to see him, Lord George waited upon the prince, who appears to have received him dryly. On being informed by Lord George, that he had attended in consequence of a message from the prince, Charles denied that he had required his attendance, and told him that he had nothing particular to say to him. His lordship then repeated his offer to serve as a volunteer. Charles told him he might do so, and here the conversation ended. In a conversation which took place afterward, between Lord George and Sir Thomas Sheridan, the former entered into some details, to show that in his station, as lieutenant-general, he had had no authority, and that others had usurped the office of general, by using the name of the prince. He complained that, while he was employed in the drudgery, everything of moment was done without his knowledge or advice. He concluded by observing, that he had ventured his all, — life, fortune, and family, — in short, everything but his honour; that, as to the last, he had some to lose, but none to gain, in the way things were managed, and that, therefore, he had resolved upon a private station.

Although it does not appear from the letters of Lord George Murray, referred to, that he resigned his commission from a dislike to serve under the Duke of Perth, who had, in reality, acted as commander-in-chief at the siege, yet it is generally understood, that this was one of the reasons, if not the principal, which induced him to resign. This view seems to derive support from the circumstance of his accepting the chief command,

which was conferred upon him on the resignation of the Duke of Perth. Mr. Maxwell of Kirkconnel, who was with the army at the time, gives the following statement in relation to this affair: —

"This command of the Duke of Perth had like to have had bad consequences. It was not so much relished by some of the prince's friends as it had been by his enemies. It seems it had not gone well down with Lord George Murray; for about the time Carlisle surrendered, he had resigned his commission of lieutenant-general, and acquainted the prince, that henceforward he would serve as a volunteer. It would be rash in me to pretend to determine whether ambition, or zeal for the prince's service, determined Lord George to take this step; or, — if both had a share in it, — which was predominant. It belongs only to the Searcher of hearts to judge of an action which might have proceeded from very different motives. The Duke of Perth was an older lieutenant-general than Lord George Murray. Hitherto they had had separate commands, and did not interfere with one another till this siege, when the Duke of Perth acted as principal commander, having directed the attack, signed the capitulation, and given orders in the town till the prince's arrival. This was a precedent for the rest of the campaign. It was perhaps not agreeable for Lord George to serve under the Duke of Perth, who was certainly much inferior to him in years and experience. He thought himself the fittest man in the army to be at the head of it, and he was not the only person who thought so. Had it been left to the gentlemen of the army to choose a general, Lord George would have carried it by vast odds against the Duke of Perth; but there was another pretext which was more insisted on, as less offensive to the Duke of Perth, who was much beloved and esteemed, even by those who did not

wish to see him at the head of the army; and that was his religion, which, they said, made him incapable of having any command in England. It was upon this the greatest stress was laid by those that complained of the duke's command. They said that in England, Roman Catholics were excluded from all employments, civil and military, by laws anterior to the Revolution; that these laws, whether reasonable or not, ought to subsist until they were repealed; that a contrary conduct, without a visible necessity for it, would confirm all which had been spread of late, from the pulpit and from the press, of the prince's designs to overturn the constitution, both in church and state; that indeed the prince, in his present circumstances, could not be blamed for allowing a Roman Catholic the command of a regiment he had raised, or even a more extensive command, if a superiority of genius and military experience entitled him to it; but these reasons could not be alleged for the Duke of Perth. A good deal to this purpose was commonly talked in the army, and by some people with great warmth. A gentleman who had been witness to such conversation, and dreaded nothing so much as dissension in a cause that could never succeed but by unanimity, resolved to speak to the Duke of Perth upon this ungrateful subject. He had observed, that those that were loudest in their complaints were least inclined to give themselves any trouble in finding out a remedy. The duke, who at this time was happy, but not elevated by his success, reasoned very coolly upon the matter. He could never be convinced, that it was unreasonable that he should have the principal command. But when it was represented to him, that since that opinion prevailed, whether well or ill founded, the prince's affairs might equally suffer, he took his resolution in a moment, said he never had anything in

view but the prince's interest, and would cheerfully sacrifice everything to it. And he was as good as his word, for he took the first opportunity of acquainting the prince with the complaints that were against him, insisted upon being allowed to give up his command, and to serve henceforth at the head of his regiment. A plain narrative of the Duke of Perth's behaviour on this delicate occasion is the best encomium that can be made of it. By this means, Lord George Murray, who had resumed his place, became general of the army, under the prince; for his brother, the Duke of Athole, who was in a bad state of health, took nothing upon him."

CHAPTER VII

RETREAT TO SCOTLAND

Although Marshal Wade must have been duly apprised of the arrival of the Highland army in England, yet it was not until he had received intelligence of their march to Brampton, and of their probable advance upon Newcastle, that he began to move. He set out from Newcastle on the sixteenth of November, the day after the surrender of Carlisle; but a deep snow, which had just fallen, retarded his march so much, that his army did not reach Ovington till eight o'clock that night. Next day he advanced to Hexham, where the first column of his army arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon; but the rear did not get up till near midnight. The army, unable to proceed farther on account of the snow, encamped on a moor near the town, and the men were provided with a sufficient quantity of straw to repose upon by the inhabitants, who kindled large fires all over the ground to protect the troops from the cold, which was unusually severe. At Hexham, Wade was informed of the reduction of Carlisle. He remained there three days in the expectation of a thaw; but the road to Carlisle continuing impassable, he returned to Newcastle, which he reached on the twenty-second of November. The conduct of Marshal Wade, in delaying his march from Newcastle, has been justly censured, for there can be no doubt that had he made a movement in advance upon Carlisle about the time the

insurgents marched to Brampton, that town would have been saved.

The sudden and unexpected success which had attended Charles's arms in England spread a general alarm through all the northern and western parts of that kingdom, and extended even to the capital itself. Such was the alternation of hope and fear in the minds of the people of all classes, that whilst the most trifling article of good news led them to indulge in the most extravagant manifestations of joy, the smallest reverse of fortune plunged them into the most abject distress. Sir Andrew Mitchell, alluding to this circumstance in a letter to President Forbes, says, that if he had not lived long enough in England to know the natural bravery of the people, he should have formed a very false opinion of them from their demeanour at the period in question.

As soon as the news of the surrender of Carlisle was known in London, the government resolved to assemble an army of ten thousand men in Staffordshire, under Sir John Ligonier, an officer of considerable military experience. For this purpose, Sir John left London on the twenty-first of November, taking along with him nine old battalions, two regiments of dragoons, and part of his own regiment of horse. In addition to this and the other army under Wade, a third army, to be placed under the immediate command of his Majesty, was ordered to be raised, and encamped in the vicinity of London for its protection. The city and castle of Chester were put in a proper state of defence, and the town of Liverpool raised a regiment of seven hundred men, who were clothed and maintained at the expense of the inhabitants.

When mustered at Carlisle, the prince's army amounted only to about 4,500 men.[21] The idea of

marching to London and overturning the government with such a force, in the face of three armies and a numerous militia, amounting in all to upwards of sixty thousand men, could scarcely have been entertained by any adventurer, however sanguine his hopes may have been; but Charles was so full of his object, that he shut his eyes to the great difficulties of the enterprise, which he imagined would be surmounted by the tried valour of his troops, and the junction of a considerable party in England devoted to his cause.

To determine upon the course to be next pursued, Charles called a council of war a few days after the capture of Carlisle, in which different opinions were maintained. As there was no appearance of either an invasion from France, or an insurrection in England, some of the members proposed returning to Scotland, where a defensive war could be carried on till such time as the prince should be in a condition to resume offensive operations. Others were for remaining at Carlisle, and quartering the army in the neighbourhood till they saw whether there should be any indications of a rising in England. A third party proposed that they should march to Newcastle and engage Wade's army. A fourth, that the army should continue its route to London by the west or Lancashire road, in support of which opinion they urged this argument, that being now in possession of Carlisle, they had, at the worst, a safe retreat. This last proposal being quite in accordance with the prince's own sentiments, he declared that his opinion of marching directly to London, in terms of the resolution entered into at Edinburgh, was in no respect altered since he entered England. Lord George Murray, who had hitherto remained silent, was then desired by the prince to give his opinion. His lordship entered at some length into the question; stated the

advantages and disadvantages of each of the different opinions; and concluded, by observing, that for himself he could not venture to advise his Royal Highness to march far into England, without receiving more encouragement from the country than he had hitherto got; but he was persuaded, that if his Royal Highness was resolved to make a trial of what could be expected, and would march south, his army, though small, would follow him. After Lord George had done speaking, Charles immediately said he would venture the trial. In giving his opinion, Lord George says he spoke with the more caution, in consequence of the recent circumstances which had led to his resignation.

As a considerable number of men had been collected at Perth since the prince's departure from Scotland, and more were on their way thither from the north, Charles, before leaving Carlisle for the south, sent Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan to Scotland with an order to Lord Strathallan, to march with all the forces under his command, and join the army in England; but this order was disregarded.

While encamped at Duddingstone, the Highlanders preferred sleeping in the open air, and had with difficulty been prevailed upon to use the tents which had been captured at Preston, and provided at Edinburgh. These tents were packed up for the campaign in England; but the party, to whose care they were entrusted, most unaccountably left the whole of them at Lockerby along with other baggage. The whole, consisting of thirty cart-loads, were captured by a party of country people, who carried them to Dumfries. After the surrender of Carlisle, Lochiel went with a party to reclaim the baggage, failing which, he was ordered to exact £2,000 from the town; but before he reached Dumfries he was recalled. The army, therefore, being now without tents,

and the season very severe, it was resolved so to arrange the order of march as to get the army accommodated in the towns. For this purpose, it was determined that one part of the army should precede the other by a day's march, the second division always occupying the quarters evacuated by the first; but that, where the country would admit of it, there should be only half-a-day's march betwixt them.

Agreeably to this plan, the first division, commanded by Lord George Murray, left Carlisle on the twentieth of November. It consisted, with the exception of the Duke of Perth's regiment, which being appointed to guard the thirteen cannon and ammunition, was not included in either division, of the whole of the low country regiments,[22] six in number, with the life-guards under Lord Elcho, who marched at the head of the division. Each of these regiments led the van in its turn. This division reached Penrith the same day, having performed a march of eighteen miles. The second division, consisting of the clan regiments and the remainder of the cavalry, headed by the prince in person, left Carlisle next day, and arrived at Penrith that night, and entered the quarters occupied by the first division, which marched the same day to Shap, where it passed the night.[23] In the march of the prince's division the cavalry always marched at its head, and each of the clan regiments led the van by turns, agreeably to the plan observed by the division under Lord George Murray. A garrison of about two hundred men was left in Carlisle under the command of one Hamilton, who had been made deputy-governor under the Duke of Perth, on whom the governorship had been conferred.

On reaching Penrith, Charles, for the first time, heard of the march of Wade from Newcastle, and of his arrival at Hexham. Resolved to return to Carlisle

and give battle to Wade, should he advance upon that city, Charles remained all the next day at Penrith, waiting for further intelligence of the marshal's movements; but receiving information from Lord Kilmarnock, who still remained with his horse at Brampton, that the English general was on his way back to Newcastle, Charles marched to Kendal on the twenty-third. The van of the army, which had arrived at Kendal on the previous day, marched on the twenty-third to Lancaster, where it halted for the night. The prince resumed his march on the twenty-fifth, and reached Lancaster, on which day the first division went to Garstang. On the twenty-sixth the whole army reached Preston, where they halted till the twenty-seventh. Recollecting the fate of the Highland army at Preston in 1715, the Highlanders had imbibed an idea that they would never get beyond that town; but Lord George Murray, on being informed of it, dispelled this superstitious dread by crossing the bridge over the Ribble, and quartering a considerable number of his men on the other side of that river.

During his progress to Preston, Charles received no marks of attachment from the inhabitants of the towns and country through which he passed; but at Preston his arrival was hailed with acclamations and the ringing of bells. With the exception, however, of Mr. Townley, a Catholic gentleman who had been in the French service, and two or three other gentlemen, no person of any note joined him. By dint of entreaty a few recruits were indeed raised; but it was not with such levies that Charles could expect to strengthen his army. At Preston Charles held a council of war, at which he repeated the assurances he alleged he had received from his English partisans, and gave them fresh hopes of being joined by them on their arrival at Manchester. The High-

land chiefs were prevailed upon to continue their march. Lord George Murray proposed to march with his column to Liverpool, and to join the other division at Macclesfield; but this proposal was overruled.

Accordingly, on the twenty-eighth, the Highland army left Preston and marched to Wigan, where they passed the night. Next day the whole army entered Manchester, amid the acclamations of the inhabitants, who illuminated their houses, and lighted up bonfires in the evening, to express their joy. The same evening one Dickson, a sergeant, enlisted by the Chevalier Johnstone, from the prisoners taken at Preston, presented 180 recruits whom he had raised in the course of the day in Manchester. This young Scotchman, whom the Chevalier represents to have been "as brave and intrepid as a lion," disappointed at his own ill success in raising recruits at Preston, had requested permission from Johnstone, in whose company he was, to proceed to Manchester — a day's march before the army — to make sure of some recruits before it should arrive there. The Chevalier reproved him sharply for entertaining so wild and extravagant a project, which would expose him to the danger of being taken and hanged, and ordered him back to his company; but Dickson, reckless of consequences, quitted Preston on the evening of the twenty-eighth, with his mistress and a drummer, and travelling all night, entered Manchester next morning, and immediately began to beat up for recruits for "The Yellow Haired Laddie." Conceiving that the Highland army was at hand, the populace at first did not interrupt him; but when they ascertained that the army would not arrive till the evening, they surrounded him in a tumultuous manner, with the intention of taking him prisoner, dead or alive. Dickson presented his blunderbuss, charged with slugs, threatening to blow out the brains

of those who first dared to lay hands on himself or the two who accompanied him; and by turning round continually, facing in all directions, and behaving like a lion, he soon enlarged the circle which a crowd of people had formed around him. Having contrived for some time to manœuvre in this way, those of the inhabitants of Manchester, who were attached to the house of Stuart, took arms, and flew to the assistance of Dickson, to rescue him from the fury of the mob; so that he had soon five or six hundred men to aid him, who dispersed the crowd in a very short time. Dickson now triumphed in his turn; and putting himself at the head of his followers, he proudly paraded undisturbed the whole day with his drummer, enlisting all who offered themselves. That evening, on presenting his recruits, it was found that the whole amount of his expenses did not exceed three guineas. This adventure gave rise to many a joke, at the expense of the town of Manchester, from the singular circumstance of its having been taken by a sergeant, a drummer, and a girl.

The van of the prince's army, consisting of a hundred horse, entered Manchester on the evening of the twenty-eighth of November, and, to magnify their numbers, ordered quarters to be prepared for ten thousand men. Another party of cavalry entered the town at ten o'clock next morning, and about two o'clock in the afternoon, Charles himself, accompanied by the main body, marched in on foot, surrounded by a select body of the clans. He wore on this occasion a light tartan plaid belted with a blue sash, a gray wig, and a blue velvet bonnet with silver lace, having a white rose in the centre of the top, by which latter badge he was distinguished from his general officers, who wore their cockades on one side. Here, as in all the other towns through which the Highlanders had passed, the Chevalier de St. George was proclaimed.

The bells of the town were rung, and in the evening an illumination was made and bonfires lighted, by orders of the prince, who also issued a proclamation, requiring all persons, who had public money in their hands, to pay it into his treasury. The army halted a day at Manchester and beat up for recruits. They were joined by some young men of the most respectable families in the town, by several substantial tradesmen and farmers, and by upwards of a hundred common men. These, with the recruits raised by Dickson, were formed into a corps called the Manchester regiment, the command of which was given to Mr. Townley, on whom the rank of colonel was conferred. This regiment never exceeded three hundred men, and were all the English who ever openly declared for the prince.

Though Charles's reception at Manchester had been rather flattering, yet the encouragement was not such as to encourage him to proceed, and a retreat now began to be talked of. One of Lord George Murray's friends ventured to hint to him that he thought they had advanced far enough, as neither of the events they had anticipated, of an insurrection in England, or a landing from France, was likely to take place. Lord George, who, it is understood, had always a retreat in view, if not supported by a party in England or by succours from abroad, said that they might make a farther trial by going as far as Derby, but that if they did not receive greater encouragement than they had yet met with, he would propose a retreat to the prince.

Conceiving that it was the intention of Charles to march by Chester into Wales, the bridges over the Mersey, on the road to Chester, had been broken down by order of the authorities; but this precaution was quite unnecessary. After halting a day at Manchester the army proceeded to Macclesfield on the morning of the

first of December, in two divisions. One took the road to Stockport, and the other that to Knottesford. The bridge near Stockport having been broken down, Charles passed the river with the water up to his middle. At Knottesford the other division crossed the river over temporary bridges, made chiefly out of poplar trees laid length-ways with planks across. The horse and artillery crossed at Chedle ford. In the evening both divisions joined at Macclesfield, where they passed the night.

At Macclesfield Charles received intelligence that the army of Ligonier, of which the Duke of Cumberland had taken the chief command, was on its march, and was quartered at Litchfield, Coventry, Stafford, and Newcastle-under-Line. The prince resolved to march for Derby. To conceal their intentions from the enemy, Lord George Murray offered to go with a division of the army to Congleton, which lay on the direct road to Litchfield, by which movement he expected that the duke would collect his army in a body at Litchfield, and thereby leave the road to Derby open. This proposal having been agreed to, Lord George went next day with his division to Congleton, whence he despatched Colonel Ker at night with a party towards Newcastle-under-Line, whither the Duke of Kingston had retired with his horse, on the approach of the Highlanders, to get intelligence of the enemy. Ker came to a village within three miles of Newcastle, and had almost surprised a party of dragoons; but he succeeded in seizing one Weir, a noted spy, who had been at Edinburgh all the time the prince was there, and who had kept hovering about the army during its march to give intelligence of its motions. The main body of the royal army, which was posted at Newcastle-under-Line, on hearing of the march of the division of the Highland army upon Congleton, retreated towards Litchfield, and other

bodies that were beyond Newcastle advanced for the purpose of concentrating near that town, by which movements the design of Lord George Murray was completely answered. Having thus succeeded in deceiving the duke, Lord George Murray, after passing the night at Congleton, went off early next morning with his division, and turning to the left, passed through Leek, and arrived at Ashbourne in the evening. Charles, who had halted a day at Macclesfield, took the road to Derby by Gawsworth, and entered Leek shortly after the other division had left it. He would have remained there till next morning; but as he considered it unsafe to keep his army divided at such a short distance from the royal forces, who might fall upon either division, he set out from Leek about midnight, and joined the other column at Ashbourne early in the morning. The Duke of Devonshire, who had been posted in the town of Derby, with a body of seven hundred militia, on hearing of the approach of the Highland army had retired from the town on the preceding evening.

On the fourth of December Charles put the first division of his army in motion, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon his vanguard, consisting of thirty horse, entered Derby and ordered quarters for nine thousand men. About three o'clock in the afternoon Lord Elcho arrived with the life-guards and some of the principal officers on horseback. These were followed, in the course of the evening, by the main body, which entered in detached parties to make the army appear as numerous as represented. Charles himself did not arrive till the dusk of the evening; he entered the town on foot, and took up his quarters in a house belonging to the Earl of Exeter. During the day the bells were rung, and bonfires were lighted at night. The magistrates were ordered to attend in the market-place, in their gowns,

to hear the usual proclamations read; but having stated that they had sent their gowns out of town, their attendance was dispensed with, and the proclamations were made by the common crier.

The fate of the empire and his own destiny may be said to have now depended upon the next resolution which Charles was to take. He had, after a most triumphant career, approached within 127 miles of London, and there seemed to be only another step necessary to complete the chivalrous character of his adventure, and to bring his enterprise to a successful termination. This was, to have instantly adopted the bold and decisive measure of marching upon and endeavouring to seize the capital. The possession of the metropolis, where Charles had a considerable party, would have at once paralyzed the government; and the English Jacobites, no longer afraid of openly committing themselves, would have rallied round his standard. The consternation which prevailed in London when the news of the arrival of the Highland army at Derby reached that capital, precludes the idea that any effectual resistance would have been offered on the part of the citizens; and it was the general opinion, that if Charles had succeeded in beating the Duke of Cumberland, the army which had assembled on Finchley Common would have dispersed of its own accord. Alluding, in a number of the *True Patriot*, to the dismay which pervaded the minds of the citizens of London, Fielding says, that when the Highlanders, by "a most incredible march," got between the Duke of Cumberland's army and the metropolis, they struck a terror into it, "scarce to be credited." The Chevalier Johnstone, who collected information on the spot shortly after the battle of Culloden, says, that when the intelligence of the capture of Derby reached London, many of the inhabitants

fled to the country, carrying along with them their most valuable effects, and that all the shops were shut; that there was a prodigious run upon the bank, which only escaped bankruptcy by a stratagem; that although payment was not refused, the bank, in fact, retained its specie, by keeping it continually surrounded by agents of its own with notes, who, to gain time, were paid in sixpences; and as a regulation had been made, that the persons who came first should be entitled to priority of payment, and as the agents went out by one door with the specie they had received, and brought it back by another, the bona-fide holders of notes could never get near enough to present them; that King George had ordered his yachts — on board of which he had put all his most precious effects — to remain at the Tower stairs in readiness to sail at a moment's warning; and that the Duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the war department, had shut himself up in his house a whole day, deliberating with himself upon the part it would be most prudent for him to take, doubtful even whether he should not immediately declare for the prince.

The only obstacle to Charles's march upon the capital was the army of the Duke of Cumberland, which was within a day's march of Derby. From the relative position of the two armies, the Highlanders might, with their accustomed rapidity, have outstripped the duke's army, and reached the capital at least one day before it; but to Charles it seemed unwise to leave such an army, almost double his own in point of numbers, in his rear, whilst that of Wade's would advance upon his left flank. Of the result of a rencounter with Cumberland, Charles entertained the most sanguine hopes. His army was small, when compared to that of his antagonist; but the paucity of its numbers was fully compensated by the personal bravery of its component parts,

and the enthusiastic ardour which pervaded the bosom of every clansman. At no former stage of the campaign were the Highlanders in better spirits than on their arrival at Derby. They are represented by the Chevalier Johnstone as animated to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and breathing nothing but a desire for the combat; and were to be seen during the whole day waiting in crowds before the shops of the cutlers to get their broadswords sharpened, and even quarrelling with one another for priority in whetting those fearful weapons. It was not without reason, therefore, that Charles calculated upon defeating Cumberland, and although there was a possibility that that bold and daring adventurer or his army, and perhaps both, might perish in the attempt to seize the capital, yet the importance of the juncture, and the probability that such a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his object might never again occur, seem to justify Charles in his design of advancing immediately upon London. But fortunately for the government, and, as has been generally and perhaps correctly supposed, for the liberties of the nation, other councils prevailed, and Charles reluctantly yielded to the entreaties of his friends, who advised a retreat.

On the morning after the arrival of the Highland army at Derby, Charles held a council of war at his quarters to deliberate upon the course to be pursued. This meeting was attended by almost all the officers who were members thereof. The prince, who never for a moment entertained the least idea of a retreat, and who considered his own personal safety a minor consideration, urged every argument in his power for an immediate advance, with all the vehemence and ardour characteristic of a bold and enterprising mind. He said that he did not doubt that, as his cause was just, it would pre-

vail; that he could not think of retreating after coming so far; and that he was hopeful there would be a defection in the enemy's army, and that some of their troops would join him. Lord George Murray, however, proposed a retreat, and used a variety of arguments, which appeared to him unanswerable, in support of that measure. He represented to his Royal Highness and the council, that they had advanced into England depending upon French succours, or an insurrection in that kingdom, and that they had been disappointed in both; that the prince's army, by itself, was by no means a match for the troops which the government had assembled; that besides the Duke of Cumberland's army, which was between seven and eight thousand men strong, and which was expected that night at Stafford, Marshal Wade was coming up by hard marches by the east road with an army of ten thousand men, and that he was already at Ferrybridge, which was within two or three days' march of the Highland army; that in addition to these two armies, there was a third at least equal to either of them already forming in the neighbourhood of London, consisting of guards and horse, with troops which the government would bring from the coast, where they were quartered; so that there would be three armies of regular troops, amounting together to about thirty thousand men, which would surround the Highland army, which was not above a sixth of that number; that, admitting that the prince should beat Cumberland or Wade, he might, should he lose a thousand or fifteen hundred of the best of his men, be undone by such a victory, as the rest would be altogether unfit to engage a fresh army, which he must expect to encounter; that, on the other hand, should the prince be defeated, it could not be supposed that he or any of his men could escape, as the militia, who had not hitherto

appeared much against the Highland army, would, upon its defeat, possess themselves of all the roads, and the enemy's horse would surround them on all sides; that as Lord John Drummond had lately landed in Scotland with his own regiment and some Irish troops from France, the prince would have a better chance of success by returning to Scotland; that the forces under Lord John Drummond and the Highlanders assembled at Perth would, when united, form an army almost as numerous as that under the prince; that since the court of France had begun to send troops, it was to be hoped it would send considerable succours, and as the first had landed in Scotland, it was probable the rest would follow the same route; that if the prince was cut off, all the succours France could send would avail nothing, and "the king's" affairs would be ruined for ever; that the prince had no chance of beating in succession the armies opposed to him, unless the English troops should be seized with a panic, and run away at the sight of the Highlanders, a circumstance barely possible, but not to be depended upon; that the whole world would blame the prince's counsellors as rash and foolish, for venturing an attempt which could not succeed; and that the prince's person, should he escape being killed in battle, would fall into the enemy's hands. In fine, that nothing short of an absolute certainty of success could justify such a rash undertaking, but that retreat, which was still practicable, and of which Lord George offered to undertake the conduct, would give the prince a much better chance of succeeding than a battle under such circumstances, and would do him as much honour as a victory.

Charles still persevered in his resolution, and insisted on giving battle next morning to the Duke of Cumberland, and advancing to London; but the chiefs of the

clans unanimously supported the views of Lord George Murray, and represented to his Royal Highness, that although they had no doubt the Highlanders could easily beat the army of the Duke of Cumberland, though greatly superior in point of numbers; yet such a victory could not be obtained without loss; and that an army of 4,500 men opposed to the whole force of England could not admit of the smallest diminution, especially as they would soon have to fight another battle before entering London with the army on Finchley Common; but supposing that by some extraordinary occurrence they should arrive at the capital without losing a man, what a figure would such a small body of men make amidst its immense population? They added, that the prince ought now to perceive clearly how little he had to expect from his English partisans, since, after traversing all the counties reputed as to have been most attached to his family, not a single person of distinction had declared for him. With the exception of the Duke of Perth, who, from deference to the prince, concurred in his opinion, all the persons present were for a retreat; but he at last also declared for that measure.

Finding his council resolved upon a retreat, Charles proposed marching into Wales instead of returning to Carlisle; but this proposal was also opposed by all present. His Royal Highness at last reluctantly yielded to the opinion of his council. In conducting the retreat, Lord George Murray offered to remain always in the rear himself, and proposed that each regiment should take it by turns till the army reached Carlisle; and that it should march in such order, that if Lord George was attacked he might be supported as occasion required, and without stopping the army unless assailed by a great body of the enemy. He also stipulated that the cannon and carriages, with the ammunition, should be placed

in the van, and that he should not be troubled with the charge of them.

To prevent any unpleasant feeling on the part of the army on account of the retreat, and to conceal the intelligence of their movements as long as possible from the enemy, the council agreed to keep the resolution to retreat secret; but it was divulged to Sir John Macdonald, an Irish gentleman, and an officer in the French service, who had come over with the prince. In the course of the afternoon, Lord George Murray, Keppoch, and Lochiel, while walking together, were accosted by this gentleman, who had just dined heartily, and made free with his bottle, and were rallied by him a good deal about the retreat. "What!" addressing Keppoch, "a Macdonald turn his back!" and turning to Lochiel, he continued, "For shame! A Cameron run away from the enemy! Go forward, and I'll lead you." The two chiefs and Lord George endeavoured to persuade Sir John that he was labouring under a mistake; but he insisted that he was right, as he had received certain information of the retreat.

Disappointed at the result of the deliberations of the council, Charles was exceedingly dejected. To raise his spirits, or to ingratiate themselves with him, some of the council, and particularly Sir Thomas Sheridan and Secretary Murray, though they had approved highly of the motion to retreat in the council, now very inconsistently blamed it. They were, however, aware that the retreat would, notwithstanding their opposition, be put in execution, and to excuse themselves for agreeing to it, they alleged that they did so, because they knew the army would never fight well when the officers were opposed to its wishes. The prince was easily persuaded that he had consented too readily to a retreat, but he would not retract the consent he had given unless

he could bring over those to whom he had given it to his own sentiments, which he hoped he might be able to do. With this view he called another meeting of the council in the evening, and in the meantime sent for the Marquis of Tullibardine, who had been absent from the meeting in the morning, to ask his opinion. The marquis, finding the prince bent upon advancing, declared himself against a retreat; but after hearing the arguments of the advocates of that measure at the meeting in the evening, the marquis retracted his opinion, and declared himself fully satisfied of its necessity. Having been informed of the conduct of those who had tampered with the prince, the rest of the officers told him at meeting, that they valued their lives as little as brave men ought to do, and if he was resolved to march forward, they would do their duty to the last; but they requested, for their own satisfaction, that those persons who had advised his Royal Highness to advance, would give their opinion in writing. This proposal put an end to farther discussion, and Charles, finding the members of council inflexible in their opinion, gave way to the general sentiment.

In connection with the arrival of Lord John Drummond, a short account of the negotiations of the agents of the Chevalier de St. George with the French court, in reference to the prince's expedition, shall now be given.

When the intelligence of the prince's departure reached Rome, Prince Henry, his brother, expressed a wish to follow him; but his father being averse to such a step, he relinquished that intention. In the expectation, however, that the French court would fit out an expedition for England, James sent Prince Henry to France, as he considered that "it would be highly proper on all accounts, and of great advantage, that he should

be at the head" of any troops that might be sent to England. He accordingly took his departure from Rome, on the twenty-ninth of August, and was directed to proceed to Avignon, there to wait, "in a kind of incognito," the orders of the King of France, to whom he was requested to write on his arrival there. Henry reached Avignon about the end of September, and sent notice to the French court of his arrival; but the French ministers were opposed to the proposal of inviting him to Paris in the present posture of affairs. Meanwhile, Lords Marischal and Clancarty urged, with great assiduity, a supply of troops. During the summer, the Chevalier's agents had demanded a force of six thousand men to be landed near London; but Lord Marischal now required an army of six thousand men for Scotland alone, and Lord Clancarty demanded one of fourteen thousand for England. These demands were far beyond what the French court ever contemplated, and the vehemence with which they were urged by Lord Marischal, was by no means calculated to promote the object in view. The French ministry, however, promised to support the prince with a body of troops, and, as an earnest of their intentions, despatched vessels to Scotland at different times with small supplies of money, arms, and ammunition.

Hitherto the French court had not come under any written engagement to support the enterprise of Charles; but after the news of the capture of Edinburgh reached France, a treaty was entered into with the Crown of France. By this treaty, which was signed at Fontainebleau, on the twenty-fourth day of October, 1745, by the Marquis d'Argenson, on the part of the French king, and by Colonel O'Bryen, on the part of Prince Charles, as regent of Scotland, it was stipulated (1) That there should be friendship and alliance between the Crown of

France and the provinces which had already submitted, or should thereafter submit to the regency of the prince, and that they should mutually endeavour to strengthen and increase still farther the good understanding between the two kingdoms for the common advantage of both. (2) That as his most Christian Majesty was desirous to contribute to the success of the Prince Regent Charles Edward Stuart, and of placing him in a condition to act with greater energy against their common enemy, the Elector of Hanover, he engaged to aid the prince in every practicable way. (3) With this view, his most Christian Majesty agreed to furnish the prince with a body of troops to be taken from the Irish regiments in the service of France, along with other troops, to serve under his Royal Highness, to defend the provinces which had submitted, or should submit, to the regency, to attack the common enemy, and to follow every movement which might be judged useful or necessary. (4) In consideration of the alliance contracted between his most Christian Majesty and the house of Stuart, the King of France and the prince royal mutually promised and engaged not to furnish any aid to their respective enemies, and to prevent as much as in their power any damage or prejudice to their respective states and subjects, and to labour with union and concert in establishing peace upon a footing of reciprocal advantage to both nations. (5) For cementing still farther the union and good feeling between the Crown of France and the states which had then submitted, or should thereafter submit themselves to the regency of Charles Edward, the contracting parties engaged as soon as tranquillity should be reëstablished, to enter into a treaty of commerce for procuring all the mutual advantages which might tend to the reciprocal good of the two nations. By a secret article in this treaty, it was stipulated,

that as his most Christian Majesty was to furnish Prince Charles with a body of troops taken from the Scotch and Irish regiments in France, and as it was the common interest of both to recruit the said troops, and perhaps to augment them, the prince, in consideration of that aid, would give every facility in his power to the officers of said troops, to raise levies and recruits in the provinces which had then submitted, or should thereafter submit to the regency.[24]

Lord John Drummond, who commanded a regiment in the French service, known by the name of Royal Scots, was appointed to the command of the troops destined for Scotland. Preparations were immediately made to fit out the expedition, and Lord John received written instructions, dated from Fontainebleau, twenty-eighth of October, and signed by the French king, requiring him to repair immediately to Ostend, to superintend the embarkation of the troops. By these instructions, Lord John was directed to disembark the troops if possible upon the coast between Edinburgh and Berwick, and as soon as he had landed to give notice of his arrival to Prince Charles, and that the succours which he had brought were entirely at the disposal of the orders of the prince, to which Lord John himself was directed to conform, either by joining his army, or acting separately, according to the views of Charles. Lord John was also instructed to notify his arrival to the commander of the Dutch troops lately arrived in England, and to intimate to him to abstain from hostilities, agreeably to the capitulations of Tournay and Dendermonde. He was required to ask a prompt and categorical answer as to how he meant to act without sending to The Hague, as the states-general had declared to the Abbé de la Ville that they had given positive orders to the commanders of these troops not to infringe the

said capitulations; and if, notwithstanding such notification, the Dutch troops should commit acts of hostility against those of the King of France, his lordship was ordered to confine closely such Dutch prisoners he might make, and to listen to no terms which would recognize a violation of the capitulations, or dispense the King of France from enforcing the engagement that had been entered into with the Dutch, as to the exchange of prisoners of war.[25]

Lord John Drummond accordingly proceeded to the coast, and having completed the embarkation of the troops, he set sail from Dunkirk about the middle of November, carrying along with him his own regiment, a select detachment from each of the six Irish regiments in the service of France, and Fitz-James's regiment of horse, so called from the Duke of Berwick, natural son of James the Second, who had been their colonel. Along with these troops were embarked a train of artillery, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. The forces embarked amounted to about a thousand men, but they did not all reach their destination, as some of the transports were taken by English cruisers, and others were obliged to return to Dunkirk.[26]

Lord John Drummond arrived at Montrose about the end of November, and on the second of December he issued the following manifesto: "We, Lord John Drummond, commander-in-chief of his most Christian Majesty's forces in Scotland, do hereby declare, that we are come to this kingdom with written orders to make war against the King of England, Elector of Hanover, and his adherents; and that the positive orders we have from his most Christian Majesty are, to attack all his enemies in this kingdom, whom he has declared to be those who will not immediately join or assist as far as will lie in their power, the Prince of

Wales, regent in Scotland, etc., and his ally; and whom he is resolved, with the concurrence of the King of Spain, to support in the taking possession of Scotland, England, and Ireland, if necessary, at the expense of all the men and money he is master of; to which three kingdoms the family of Stuart have so just and indisputable a title. And his most Christian Majesty's positive orders are, that his enemies should be used in this kingdom in proportion to the harm they do or intend to his Royal Highness's cause."

From Montrose, Lord John despatched part of his forces to Aberdeen to aid Lord Lewis Gordon, and proceeded with the rest to Perth, where he established his headquarters. In terms of his instructions, he sent a messenger to England with a letter to Count Nassau, the commander-in-chief of the Dutch auxiliaries, notifying his arrival, and requiring him to observe a neutrality. He also carried letters to the commanders of the royal forces. The bearer of these despatches, having obtained an escort of eight dragoons at Stirling, proceeded to Edinburgh, and having delivered a letter to General Guest, the commander of the castle, went on to Newcastle, and delivered letters to the Count and Marshal Wade. The marshal, however, refused to receive any message "from a person who was a subject of the king, and in rebellion against his Majesty." At the same time his lordship sent another messenger with a letter to Lord Fortrose, announcing his arrival, and urging him to declare for the prince as the only mode he had of retrieving his character. To induce him to join, Lord John informed his lordship that the prince had entered Wales, where he had about ten thousand friends, and that "his Royal Highness, the Duke of York," accompanied by Lord Marischal, would immediately join him at the head of ten thousand men.

Apprehensive that Lord John would cross the Forth above Stirling, two regiments of foot, and Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons, which had arrived at Edinburgh from Berwick, on the fourteenth of November, began their march to Stirling, on the seventh of December, to guard the passages of the Forth, and were joined at Stirling by the Glasgow regiment of six hundred men, commanded by the Earl of Home. Lord John Drummond, however, it appears, had no intention of crossing the Forth at this time.

Almost simultaneous with Lord John Drummond's expedition, the French ministers appear to have contemplated a descent upon England, under Lord Marischal, preparatory to which, Prince Henry repaired, by invitation, to Paris. Twelve thousand men were to have been employed upon this expedition; but the retreat of Charles from Derby, and the difficulty of transporting such a large force to England, seem to have prevented its execution. Had Charles penetrated to London, the French court would certainly have made the attempt, and had it succeeded in landing a considerable body of troops, the Hanoverian dynasty must have ceased to exist in England.

On arriving at Derby, Charles had sent forward a party on the road to London to take possession of Swarkstone bridge, about six miles from Derby. Orders had been given to break down this bridge, but before these orders could be put into execution, the Highlanders had possessed themselves of it. The Duke of Cumberland, who, before this movement, had left Stafford with the main body of his army for Stone, returned to the former place, on the fourth of December, on learning that the Highland army was at Derby. Apprehending that it was the intention of Charles to march to London, he resolved to retire towards Northampton, in order to intercept

him; but finding that the young Chevalier remained at Derby, his Royal Highness halted, and encamped on Meriden Common, in the neighbourhood of Coventry.

Agreeably to a resolution which had been entered into the previous evening, the Highland army began its retreat early in the morning of the sixth of December, before daybreak. Scarcely any of the officers, with the exception of those of the council, were aware of the resolution, and all the common men were entirely ignorant of the step they were about to take. To have communicated such a resolution to the army all at once, would, in its present disposition, have produced a mutiny. To keep the army in suspense as to its destination, a quantity of powder and ball was distributed among the men, as if they were going into action, and by some it was insinuated that Wade was at hand, and that they were going to fight him; whilst by others it was said that the Duke of Cumberland's army was the object of their attack. At the idea of meeting the enemy, the Highlanders displayed the greatest cheerfulness; but as soon as they could discriminate by daylight the objects around them, and could discover by an examination of the road that they were retracing their steps, nothing was to be heard throughout the whole army, but expressions of rage and lamentation. Had it sustained a defeat, the grief of the army could not have been more acute. Even some of those who were in the secret of the retreat, and thought it the only reasonable scheme that could be adopted, could scarcely be reconciled to it when about to be carried into effect.

Charles himself partook deeply of the distress of his men. Overcome by the intensity of his feelings, he was unable for a time to proceed with the army, and it was not until his men had been several hours on their march that he left Derby. Forced in spite of himself to give a

reluctant assent to a measure, which, whilst it rendered useless all the advantages he had obtained, rendered his chance of gaining the great stake he was contending for extremely problematical, his spirits sunk within him, and an air of melancholy marked his exterior. In marching forwards, he had always been first up in the morning, put his men in motion before break of day, and had generally walked on foot; but in the retreat, the scene was totally changed. Instead of taking the lead, he allowed the army to start long before he left his quarters, kept the rear always behind waiting for him, and when he came out mounted his horse, and rode straight forward to his next quarters with the van.

After the first burst of indignation had in some degree subsided, and when the men began to speculate upon the reasons which could have induced the retreat, a statement was given out that the reinforcements expected from Scotland were on the road, and had already entered England; that Wade was endeavouring to intercept them; that the object of the retrograde movement was to effect a junction with them; and that as soon as these reinforcements had joined the army, the march to London would be resumed. It was hinted that they would probably meet these reinforcements about Preston or Lancaster. The prospect thus held out to them of a speedy advance upon London tended to allay the passions of the men, but they continued sullen and silent during the whole of the day.

The army lay the first night at Ashburne. It reached Leek next day; but that town being too small to accommodate the army, Elcho's and Pitsligo's horse, and Ogilvy's and Roy Stuart's regiments of foot, went on to Macclesfield, where they passed the night. The remainder of the army came next day to Macclesfield, and the other division, which had passed the night there,

went to Stockport. On the ninth both divisions met on the road to Manchester, and entered that town in a body. There had been considerable rioting and confusion in Manchester on the preceding day. Imagining from the retreat that the Highland army had sustained a reverse, a mob had collected, and, being reinforced by great numbers of country people with arms, had insulted the Jacobite inhabitants, and seemed disposed to dispute the entrance of the Highland army into the town; but upon the first appearance of the van, the mob quietly dispersed, and order was restored. In the retreat some abuses were committed by stragglers, who could not be prevented from going into houses. As Lord George Murray found great difficulty in bringing these up, he found it necessary to appoint an expert officer out of every regiment to assist in collecting the men belonging to their different corps who had kept behind, a plan which he found very useful.

It was Charles's intention to have halted a day at Manchester, and he issued orders to that effect; but on Lord George Murray representing to him that delay might be dangerous, the army left that town on the forenoon of the tenth, and reached Wigan that night. Next day the army came to Preston, where it halted the whole of the twelfth. From Preston the Duke of Perth was despatched north with a hundred horse, to bring up the reinforcements from Perth.

The prince arrived at Lancaster late in the evening of the thirteenth. On reaching his quarters, Lord George Murray found that orders had been given out, that the army was to halt there all the next day. On visiting Charles's quarters next morning, Lord George was told by the prince that he had resolved to fight the enemy, and desired him to go along with O'Sullivan, and reconnoitre the ground in the neighbourhood for the

purpose of choosing a field of battle. His lordship, contrary to the expectations of those who had advised Charles to fight, and who supposed that Lord George would have opposed that measure, offered no advice on the subject. He merely proposed that as the ground suitable for regular troops might not answer the Highlanders, some Highland officers should also inspect the ground, and as Lochiel was present, he requested that he would go along with him, — a request with which he at once complied. With an escort of horse and foot, and accompanied by Lochiel and O'Sullivan, Lord George returned back about two miles, where he found a very fine field upon a rising ground sufficiently large for the whole army, and which was so situated, that from whatever quarter the enemy could come, the army would be completely covered till the enemy were close upon them. After surveying these grounds very narrowly, and taking three of the enemy's rangers prisoners, the reconnoitring party returned to Lancaster. From the prisoners Lord George received information that the corps called the rangers was at Garstang, and that a great body of Wade's dragoons had entered Preston a few hours after he had left it. His lordship reported to the prince the result of the survey, and told him that if the number of his men was sufficient to meet the enemy, he could not wish a better field of battle for the Highlanders; but Charles informed him that he had altered his mind, and that he meant to proceed on his march next day.

It is now necessary to notice the movements of the Duke of Cumberland and Marshal Wade. By retaining possession of Swarkstone bridge for some time after his main body left Derby, Charles deceived Cumberland as to his motions, and the Highland army was two days' march distant from the duke's army before he was aware

of its departure from Derby. As soon, however, as he was apprised of the retreat, the duke put himself at the head of his horse and dragoons, and a thousand volunteers mounted upon horses, furnished by some of the gentlemen of Warwickshire, for the purpose of stopping the Highlanders till the royal army should come up, or, failing in that design, of harassing them in their retreat. He marched by Uttoxeter and Cheadle; but the roads being excessively bad, he did not arrive at Macclesfield till the night of the tenth, on which day the Highland army had reached Wigan. At Macclesfield the duke received intelligence that the Highlanders had left Manchester that day. His Royal Highness thereupon sent orders to the magistrates of Manchester to seize all stragglers belonging to the Highland army: he directed Bligh's regiment, then at Chester, to march to Macclesfield, and, at the same time, ordered the Liverpool Blues to return to Warrington, where they had been formerly posted. Early on the eleventh, he detached Major Wheatley with the dragoons in pursuit of the Highlanders. Meanwhile Marshal Wade having held a council of war on the eighth, at Ferrybridge, in Yorkshire, had resolved to march by Wakefield and Halifax into Lancashire, in order to intercept the insurgents in their retreat northwards. He accordingly came to Wakefield on the tenth at night, where, learning that the vanguard of the Highland army had reached Wigan, he concluded that he would not be able to overtake it, and therefore resolved to return to his old post at Newcastle by easy marches. He, however, detached General Oglethorpe with the horse to join the duke. This officer crossed Blackstone Edge with such expedition, that he reached Preston on the same day that the Highlanders left it, having marched about one hundred miles in three days, over roads at any time unfavourable, but now

rendered almost impassable by frost and snow. At Preston Oglethorpe found the Georgia rangers, and was joined by a detachment of Kingston's horse, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Mordaunt. Here these united forces halted nearly a whole day, in consequence of an express which the Duke of Cumberland had received from London, announcing that a French expedition from Dunkirk had put to sea, and requiring him to hold himself in readiness to return to the capital. This information was afterward found to be erroneous; but it was of service to the Highlanders, who, in consequence of the halt of the royal forces, gained a whole day's march ahead of their pursuers.

In his retreat, the chief danger the prince had to apprehend was from the army of Wade, who, by marching straight across the country into Cumberland, might have reached Penrith a day at least before the prince; but by the information he received of the route taken by Wade's cavalry, he saw that the danger now was that the united cavalry of both armies might fall upon his rear before he could reach Carlisle. He therefore left Lancaster on the fifteenth; but the rear of his army was scarcely out of town when some of the enemy's horse entered it. The town bells were then rung, and the word being given from the rear to the front, that the enemy was approaching, the Highlanders formed in order of battle; but the alarm turning out to be false, the army continued its march to Kendal. The enemy's horse, however, followed two or three miles, and appeared frequently in small parties, but attempted nothing. The army entered Kendal that night, where they were met by the Duke of Perth and his party. In his way north, the duke had been attacked in this town by a mob, which he soon dispersed by firing on them; but in the neighbourhood of Penrith, he met with a more

serious obstruction, having been attacked by a considerable body of militia, both horse and foot, and being vastly outnumbered, was obliged to retreat back to Kendal.

As Lord George Murray considered it impossible to transport the four-wheeled wagons belonging to the army to Shap, he proposed to the prince to substitute two-wheeled carts for them,[27] and as he was afraid that no provisions could be obtained at Shap, he suggested that the men should be desired to provide themselves with a day's provision of bread and cheese. Orders were accordingly issued agreeably to these suggestions, but that regarding the wagons seems not to have been attended to; and by some oversight, the order about the provisions was not communicated to many of them till they were on their march next morning. The consequence was, that the men who were unprovided returned to the town, and much confusion would have ensued, had not Lord George Murray sent some detachments of the rear with officers into the town to preserve order, and to see the men return to the army. This omission retarded considerably the march of the army. The difficulties which Lord George Murray had anticipated in transporting the wagons across the hills were realized, and by the time he had marched four miles and got among the hills, he was obliged to halt all night, and take up his quarters at a farmhouse about a gun-shot off the road. The Glengary men were in the rear that day, and though reckoned by his lordship not the most patient of mortals, he says he "never was better pleased with men in his life," having done all that was possible for men to do.

With the exception of the Glengary regiment, the army passed the night between the sixteenth and seventeenth at Shap.[28] On the morning of the seventeenth, Lord

George received two messages from Charles, ordering him upon no account to leave the least thing, not so much as a cannon ball behind, as he would rather return himself than that anything should be left. Though his lordship had undertaken to conduct the retreat on the condition that he should not be troubled with the charge of the baggage, ammunition, etc., he promised to do everything in his power to carry everything along with him. To lighten the ammunition wagons, some of which had broken down, his lordship prevailed upon the men to carry about two hundred cannon balls, for which service he gave the bearers sixpence each. With difficulty the rear-guard reached Shap that night at a late hour. Here he found most of the cannon, and some of the ammunition, with Colonel Roy Stuart and his battalion. The same night, the prince with the main body arrived at Penrith. Some parties of militia appeared at intervals; but they kept at a considerable distance, without attempting hostilities.

Early in the morning of the eighteenth, the rear-guard left Shap; but as some of the small carriages were continually breaking, its march was much retarded. It had not proceeded far when some parties of English light horse were observed hovering at some distance on the eminences behind the rear-guard. Lord George Murray notified the circumstance to the prince at Penrith; but as it was supposed that these were militia, the information was treated lightly. No attempt was made to attack the rear-guard, or obstruct its progress, till about midday, when a body of between two and three hundred horse, chiefly Cumberland people, formed in front of the rear-guard, behind an eminence near Clifton Hall, and seemed resolved to make a stand. Lord George Murray was about to ascend this eminence, when this party was observed marching two

and two abreast on the top of the hill. They suddenly disappeared as if to form themselves in order of battle behind the eminence, and made a great noise with trumpets and kettle-drums. At this time two of the companies of Roy Stuart's regiment, which the Duke of Perth had attached to the artillery, were at the head of the column. The guns and ammunition wagons followed, behind the two other companies of the same regiment. The Glengary regiment, which marched with Lord George Murray at its head, was in the rear of the column. Believing, from the great number of trumpets and kettle-drums, that the English army was at hand, the rear-guard remained for a short time at the bottom of the hill, as if at a loss how to act in a conjuncture which appeared so desperate. It was the opinion of Colonel Brown, an officer of Lally's regiment, who was at the head of the column, that they should rush upon the enemy sword in hand, and either open a passage to the army at Penrith, or perish in the attempt. The men of the four companies, adopting this opinion, immediately ran up the hill, without informing Lord George Murray of their resolution; and his lordship, on observing this movement, immediately ordered the Glengary men to proceed across the enclosure, and ascend the hill from another quarter, as they could not conveniently pass the wagons which had almost blocked up the roads. The Glengary men, throwing off their plaids, reached the summit of the hill almost as soon as the head of the column, on gaining which, both parties were agreeably surprised to find that the only enemy in view was the light horse they had observed a few minutes before, and who, alarmed at the appearance of the Highlanders, galloped off in disorder. One of the fugitives fell from his horse, and was cut to pieces in an instant by the Highlanders.

The rear-guard resumed its march, and on reaching the village of Clifton, Lord George Murray sent the artillery and heavy baggage forward to Penrith under a small escort. Being well acquainted with all the enclosures and parks about Lowther Hall, the seat of Lord Lonsdale, about the distance of a mile from Clifton, Lord George Murray, at the head of the Glengary regiment and some horse, examined these parks and enclosures in the hope of falling in with the light horse; but, although he saw several of them, he only succeeded in making two prisoners. One of these appeared to be a militia officer, and was clothed in a green uniform, and the other was a footman of the Duke of Cumberland. By these prisoners Lord George was informed that the duke himself, with a body of four thousand horse, was about a mile behind him. As Clifton was a very good post, Lord George Murray resolved to remain there; and on his return to the village he sent Colonel Roy Stuart with the two prisoners to Penrith, to inform Charles of the near approach of the duke, and that he would remain at Clifton till further orders. In the event of the prince approving of his intention of making a stand at Preston, his lordship requested that a thousand men might be sent him from Penrith. On returning to Clifton from Lowther parks, Lord George found the Duke of Perth there; and, besides Colonel Roy Stuart's men, who amounted to about two hundred, he also found the Macphersons with their chief, Cluny Macpherson, and the Stewarts of Appin, headed by Stewart of Ardshiel.

Before the return of Colonel Roy Stuart from Penrith, the enemy appeared in sight, and proceeded to form themselves into two lines upon Clifton moor, about half a mile from the village. The Duke of Perth thereupon rode back to Penrith to bring up the rest

of the army to support Lord George, who he supposed would, from the strength of his position, be able to maintain himself till joined by the main body. The duke was accompanied by an English gentleman who had attended Lord George during the retreat, and, knowing the country perfectly well, had offered to lead without discovery the main body a near way by the left, by which movement they would be enabled to fall upon the enemy's flank. Had Lord George received the reinforcement he required, his design was to have sent half of his men through the enclosures on his right, so as to have flanked the duke's army on that side, whilst it was attacked on the other by the other half. He expected that if he succeeded in killing but a small number of Cumberland's horse that the rest would be thrown into disorder, and that as they would be obliged to retreat through a lane nearly a mile long, between Lord Lonsdale's enclosures, they would choke up the road, and that many of them would be unable to escape. In absence of this reinforcement, however, the lieutenant-general was obliged to make the best dispositions he could with the force he had with him, which amounted to about a thousand men in all, exclusive of Lord Pitsligo's horse and hussars, who, on the appearance of the enemy, shamefully fled to Penrith.

The dispositions of Lord George were these. Within the enclosures to the right of the highway he posted the Glengary men, and within those to their left he placed the Stewarts of Appin and the Macphersons. On the side of the highway, and close to the village of Clifton, he placed Colonel Roy Stuart's regiment. As some ditches at the foot stretched farther towards the moor on the right than on the left, and as that part was also covered by Lord Lonsdale's other enclosures, the party on the right could not easily be attacked; and they had

this advantage, that they could with their fire flank the enemy when they attacked the left. To induce the enemy to believe that his numbers were much greater than they were, Lord George, after exhibiting the colours he had at different places, caused them to be rolled up, carried to other places, and again unfurled.

About an hour after the Duke of Cumberland had formed his men, about five hundred of his dragoons dismounted and advanced forward to the foot of the moor, in front of a ditch at the bottom of one of three small enclosures between the moor and the places where Roy Stuart's men were posted at the village. At this time Colonel Stuart returned from Penrith, and, after informing Lord George that the prince had resolved to march immediately to Carlisle, and that he had sent forward his cannon, he stated that it was his Royal Highness's desire that he should immediately retreat to Penrith. From the situation in which the lieutenant-general was now placed, it was impossible to obey this order without great danger. The dismounted horse were already firing upon the Highlanders, who were within musket shot; and, if retreat was once begun, the men might get into confusion in the dark, and become discouraged. Lord George proposed to attack the dismounted party, and stated his confidence that he would be able by attacking them briskly to dislodge them. Cluny Macpherson and Colonel Stuart concurring in Lord George's opinion, that the course he proposed was the only prudent one that could be adopted, they agreed not to mention the message from the prince.

In pursuance of this determination, Lord George Murray went to the right where the Glengary men were posted, and ordered them, as soon as they should observe him advance on the other side, to move also forward and keep up a smart fire till they came to the

lowest ditch. He observed that if they succeeded in dislodging the enemy from the hedges and ditches, they could give them a flank fire within pistol-shot; but he gave them particular injunctions not to fire across the highway, nor to follow the enemy up the moor. After speaking with every officer of the Glengary regiment, his lordship returned to the left, and placed himself at the head of the Macphersons, with Cluny by his side. It was now about an hour after sunset, and the night was somewhat cloudy; but at short intervals the moon, which was in its second quarter, broke through and afforded considerable light. The Highlanders had this advantage, that whilst they could see the disposition of the enemy, their own movements could not be observed. In taking their ground the dismounted dragoons had not only lined the bottom enclosures which ran from east to west, directly opposite the other enclosures in which the Highlanders were posted, but some of them had advanced up along two hedges that lay south and north.

The Highlanders being ready to advance, the Stewarts and Macphersons marched forward at the word of command, as did the Macdonalds on the right. The Highlanders on the right kept firing as they advanced; but the Macphersons, who were on the left, came sooner in contact with the dragoons, and received the whole of their fire. When the balls were whizzing about them, Cluny exclaimed, "What the devil is this?" Lord George told him that they had no remedy but to attack the dragoons, sword in hand, before they had time to charge again. Then drawing his sword, he cried out, "Claymore," and Cluny doing the same, the Macphersons rushed down to the bottom ditch of the enclosure, and clearing the diagonal hedges as they went, fell sword in hand upon the enemy, of whom a considerable

number were killed at the lower ditch. The rest fled across the moor, but received in their flight the fire of the Glengary regiment. In this skirmish only twelve Highlanders were killed; but the royal forces sustained a loss of about one hundred in killed and wounded, including some officers. The only officer wounded on the side of the Highlanders was Macdonald of Lochgary, who commanded the Glengary men. Lord George Murray made several narrow escapes. Old Glenbucket, who, from infirmity, remained at the end of the village on horseback, had lent him his target, and it was fortunate for Lord George that he had done so. By means of this shield, which was convex, and covered with a plate of metal painted, his lordship protected himself from the bullets of the dragoons, which cleared away the paint off the target in several places. The only prisoner taken on this occasion was another footman of the Duke of Cumberland, who stated that his master would have been killed, if a pistol, with which a Highlander took aim at his head, had not missed fire. This man was sent back to his Royal Highness by the prince.

After remaining a short time at Clifton after the skirmish, Lord George went to Penrith, where he found the prince ready to mount for Carlisle. His Royal Highness was very well pleased with the result of the action. The men that had been engaged halted at Penrith a short time to refresh themselves; and the prince, after sending Clanranald's and Keppoch's regiments as far back as Clifton bridge, to induce the inhabitants to believe that he meant to fight the Duke of Cumberland, left Penrith for Carlisle with the main body. Next morning the whole army reached Carlisle, where the prince found letters, though rather of an old date, from Lord John Drummond and Lord Strathallan. Lord John gave him great encouragement from the court of

France, and informed his Royal Highness that it was the desire of the King of France that the prince should proceed with great caution, and if possible avoid a decisive action till he received the succours the King of France intended to send him, which would be such as to put his success beyond all doubt, and that, in the meantime, he (Lord John) had brought over some troops and a train of artillery, sufficient to reduce all the fortresses in Scotland. Lord Strathallan gave a very favourable account of the state of the army assembled at Perth, which he represented as better than that which the prince had with him. As nothing positive, however, was known at Carlisle of the operations of the Jacobite forces in the north, Charles resolved to continue the retreat into Scotland. Contrary to the opinion of Lord George Murray, who advised him to evacuate Carlisle, Charles resolved to leave a garrison there to facilitate his return into England, of which at the time he had strong hopes when joined by the forces under Lords Strathallan and Drummond. As Carlisle was not tenable, and as the Highland army could easily have reëntered England independent of any obstruction from any garrison which could be put into it, the conduct of Charles, in leaving a portion of his army behind, has been justly reprehended; but there is certainly no room for the accusation which has been made against him, of having wilfully sacrificed the unfortunate garrison.[29] It was not without difficulty that Charles could make up a garrison. The Duke of Perth was unwilling to allow any of his men to remain; and appearing to complain in the presence of the prince that a certain number of the Athole men had not been draughted for that service, Lord George Murray told him, also in the prince's presence, that if his Royal Highness would order him, he would stay with the Athole brigade, though he knew

what his fate would be. The number of men left in garrison amounted to about four hundred. Mr. Hamilton was continued in the command of the castle, and Mr. Townley was made commandant of the town.

The Highland army halted the whole of the nineteenth in Carlisle, and departed next day for Scotland. The Esk, which forms part of the boundary between England and Scotland on the west, was, from an incessant rain of several days, rendered impassable by the nearest road from Carlisle; but at the distance of about eight miles from Carlisle it was still fordable. The army reached the place, where they intended to cross, about two o'clock in the afternoon. Before crossing the water, the following route was fixed upon by the advice of Lord George Murray, whose opinion had been asked by Charles in presence of some of his officers, viz., that Lord George, with six battalions, should march that night to Ecclefechan, next day to Moffat, and there halt a day; and after making a feint towards the Edinburgh road, as if he intended to march upon the capital, to turn off to Douglas, then to Hamilton and Glasgow; that the prince should go with the clans and most of the horse that night to Annan, next day to Dumfries, where they should rest a day; then to Drumlanrig, Leadhills, Douglas, and Hamilton, so as to be at Glasgow the day after the arrival in that city of Lord George's division.

Though the river was usually shallow at the place fixed upon for passing, it was now swollen, by continued rains, to the depth of four feet. The passage was not without its dangers; but as the river might be rendered impassable by a continuation of the rain during the night, and as it was possible that the Duke of Cumberland might reach the Esk next morning, it was resolved to cross it immediately. After trying the water to as-

certain that the ford was good, a body of cavalry formed in the river, a few paces above the ford, to break the force of the stream, and another body was likewise stationed in the river below the ford to pick up such of the infantry as might be carried away by the violence of the current. This arrangement being completed, the infantry entered the river a hundred men abreast, each holding one another by the neck of the coat, by which plan they supported one another against the rapidity of the river, leaving sufficient intervals between their ranks for the passage of the water. Lord George Murray, who was among the first to enter the water in his philibeg, says, that when nearly across, there were about two thousand men in the water at once. The appearance of the river, in the interval between the cavalry, presented an extraordinary spectacle. As the heads of the Highlanders were generally all that was seen above the water, the space of water occupied in the passage looked like a paved street. Not one man was lost in the transit; but a few girls, who had followed their lovers in their adventurous campaign, were swept away by the current. After the army had passed, the pipes began to play; and the Highlanders, happy on setting their feet again on Scottish ground, forgot for a time the disappointment they had suffered at Derby, and testified their joy by dancing reels upon the northern bank of the Esk.

The expedition into England, though not signalized by any great military achievement, will always hold a distinguished place in the annals of bold and adventurous enterprise. It was planned and carried through in all its details with great judgment; and if circumstances had not delayed its execution, it might have terminated in success. From the consternation into which the English people were thrown by the invasion of the High-

land army,[30] it seems certain, that without the aid of a regular army their militia would scarcely have ventured to oppose the march of the Highlanders to the metropolis; but after the return of the British forces from Flanders, and the arrival of the Dutch auxiliaries, and the assembling of the armies under Wade and Ligonier, the attempt appeared to be hopeless. The crown of England, however, was still in jeopardy; and it was not until the retreat from Derby that the government was relieved from its anxiety for the safety of the monarchy.

The Duke of Cumberland halted at Penrith on the twentieth of December, and marched next day to Carlisle, which he invested the same day. As he was under the necessity of sending to Whitehaven for heavy cannon, the fire from his batteries did not commence till the morning of the twenty-eighth. During the blockade the garrison fired repeatedly upon the besiegers, but with little effect. A fire was kept up by the besiegers from a battery of six eighteen pounders, during the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth. Another battery of three thirteen pounders was completed on the thirtieth; but on the first fire from the old battery that day, the besieged hung out a white flag, and offered hostages for a capitulation. The Duke of Cumberland, on observing this signal, sent one of his aides-de-camp with a note, desiring to know its meaning; to which Governor Hamilton answered, that the object was to obtain a cessation for a capitulation, and desiring to know what terms his Royal Highness would grant to the garrison. The only condition the duke would grant was, that the garrison should not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the king's pleasure; and Hamilton, seeing the impossibility of holding out, surrendered the same day. The garrison, including officers, consisted of 114 men of

the Manchester regiment; of 274 men, also including officers, chiefly of the Scotch low country regiments, and a few Frenchmen and Irishmen. The number of cannon in the castle was sixteen, ten of which had been left by the Highland army on its return to Scotland. Among the prisoners were found twelve deserters from the royal forces, who were immediately hanged. The officers were kept prisoners in the castle, but the privates were confined in the cathedral and town-jail. The whole were afterward dispersed in several jails through England. The Duke of Cumberland, after putting Bligh's regiment in garrison at Carlisle, returned to London, in consequence of an order from court.

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLISH ARMY AT EDINBURGH

PURSUANT to the plan of march fixed upon at crossing the Esk, the Highland army separated, and Lord George Murray, at the head of the low country regiments, proceeded to Ecclefechan, where he arrived on the night of the twentieth, and marched next day to Moffat. The prince, at the head of the clans, marched to Annan, where he passed the night of the twentieth. The horse of the prince's division under Lord Elcho were, after a short halt, sent to take possession of Dumfries, which they accomplished early next morning, and the prince, with the clans, came up in the evening. In no town in Scotland had there been greater opposition displayed to the restoration of the house of Stuart than in Dumfries, from the danger to which the inhabitants supposed their religious liberties, as Presbyterians, would be exposed under a Catholic sovereign. This feeling, which was strongly manifested by them in the insurrection of 1715, had now assumed even a more hostile appearance from the existence of the new sect or body of religionists called "Seceders," which had lately sprung from the bosom of the established church of Scotland, and which professed principles thought to be more in accordance with the gospel than those of their parent church. A body of these dissenters had volunteered for the defence of Edinburgh shortly after Charles had landed, and, on his march for England, a party of these religionists had taken up arms, and had captured and

carried to Dumfries thirty wagons belonging to the Highland army, which had been left at Lockerby by the escort appointed to protect them. To punish the inhabitants for their hostility, Charles ordered them to pay £2,000 in money, and to contribute one thousand pairs of shoes. About £1,100 only were raised; and, in security for the remainder, Mr. Crosbie, the provost, and a Mr. Walter Riddel, were carried off as hostages. He also levied the excise at Dumfries, and carried off some arms, horses, etc. Some outrages were committed in the town by the Highlanders, who told the inhabitants that they ought to think themselves gently used, and be thankful that their town was not laid in ashes.

After halting a day at Dumfries, the prince proceeded with his division up Nithsdale on the evening of the twenty-third, and passed the night at Drumlanrig, the seat of the Duke of Queensberry. Next day he entered Clydesdale, and halted at Douglas. The prince slept that night in Douglas castle. He reached Hamilton on the twenty-fifth, and took up his residence in the palace of the Duke of Hamilton. Next day the Chevalier occupied himself in hunting, an amusement of which he was uncommonly fond, and to which he had been accustomed from his youth. The division under Lord George Murray, after halting a day at Moffat, where, being Sunday, his men heard sermons in different parts of the town from the Episcopal ministers who accompanied them, proceeded by Douglas and Hamilton, and entered Glasgow on Christmas Day. On the evening of the twenty-sixth the prince also marched into Glasgow on foot at the head of the clans. Here he resolved to halt and refresh his men for a few days after their arduous march, and to provide them with clothing, of which they stood greatly in need. In passing through Douglas and Lesmahago, the Highlanders pillaged and

THE MURRAY

burnt some houses, in revenge for the capture of Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, who, in his way south from the Highlands, had been seized on Brokencross moor, near Lesmahago, by the country people, headed by a student of divinity named Linning, and carried to Edinburgh castle.

Before noticing Charles's proceedings at Glasgow, it is necessary to give a short summary of those of his friends in the north, up to the period of his arrival in that city.

When intelligence of the Chevalier's march into England, and his unexpected success at Carlisle was received in the north, the zeal of the Jacobites was more and more inflamed. Whilst the Frasers, headed by the master of Lovat, blockaded Fort Augustus, Lord Lewis Gordon was busily employed in raising men, and levying money by force and threats of military execution, in the shire of Banff and Aberdeen. Of two battalions which his lordship raised, one was placed under the command of Gordon of Abbachie, and the other under Moir of Stonywood. To relieve Fort Augustus, the Earl of Loudon left Inverness on the third of December with six hundred men of the independent companies, and passing through Stratherrick during a very severe frost, reached Fort Augustus without opposition, and having supplied the garrison with everything necessary for its defence, returned to Inverness on the eighth, after notifying the inhabitants of Stratherrick the risk they would incur should they leave their houses and join the insurgents.

As the future progress of the insurrection in the Highlands depended much upon the Frasers, Lord Loudon, in conjunction with Lord-President Forbes, resolved to march to Castle Downie, the seat of Lord Lovat, and to obtain the best satisfaction that could be got for the peaceable behaviour of that powerful clan. For this

purpose, two companies of the Mackenzies, which had been posted near Brahan, were called into Inverness on the ninth of December; and after allowing the detachment, which had been at Fort Augustus, one day's rest, his lordship left Inverness on the tenth, taking along with him that detachment and the two companies, amounting together to eight hundred men, and proceeded to Castle Downie. The earl prevailed upon Lord Lovat to go with him to Inverness, and to live there under his own eye until all the arms of which the clan were possessed (and of which he promised to obtain the delivery) were brought in. But instead of delivering the arms on the day fixed, being the fourteenth of December, he made excuses and fresh promises from day to day till the twenty-first, when Lord Loudon, thinking that he was deceived, placed sentries at the door of the house where Lord Lovat resided, intending to commit him to the castle of Inverness next morning; but his lordship contrived to escape during the night through a back passage, and, being very infirm, was supposed to have been carried off on men's shoulders.

Next in importance to the keeping down of the Frasers was the relief of the shires of Banff and Aberdeen from the sway of Lord Lewis Gordon. To put an end to the recruiting and exactions of this nobleman, the laird of Macleod was sent the same day that Lord Loudon proceeded to the seat of Lord Lovat with a body of five hundred men, composed of four hundred of his own kindred, and one hundred of the Macleods of Assint, towards Elgin, and these were to be followed by as many men as could be spared from Inverness, after adjusting matters with Lord Lovat. Accordingly, on the thirteenth, two hundred men were detached under Captain Munro of Culcairn, to follow Macleod to Elgin and Aberdeen, and these were again to be followed suc-

cessively by other small bodies, and by Lord Loudon himself, as soon as matters were finally settled with Lovat. The escape of that crafty chief, however, put an end to this part of the plan, as it was considered dangerous to reduce the force near Inverness any farther, while Lord Lovat was at large.

In the meantime Macleod reached Elgin, where he received intelligence that a party of two hundred of the insurgents had taken possession of the boats on the Spey at Fochabers, and that they intended to dispute the passage with him. Macleod advanced to the banks of the Spey on the fifteenth; but the insurgents, instead of waiting for him, retired on his approach, and he passed the river without molestation. On the sixteenth and seventeenth he marched to Cullen and Banff. Meanwhile Munro of Culcairn arrived with his detachment at Keith, where he was joined by Grant of Grant at the head of five hundred of his clan, and on the eighteenth they proceeded, in conjunction, to Strathbogie. Next day it was agreed upon between Macleod and Culcairn, that whilst the former should march next morning from Banff to Old Meldrum, which is twelve miles from Aberdeen, the latter, with Grant and his men, should at same time proceed to Inverary, which is about the same distance from Aberdeen; but Grant, apprehensive that his own country would be harassed in his absence, returned home.

When Lord Lewis Gordon heard of the arrival of Macleod at Inverury, he resolved to attack him. With his own regiment, the men whom Lord John Drummond had sent, and a battalion of three hundred Farquharsons, commanded by Farquharson of Monaltry, he left Aberdeen on the twenty-third, and arrived near Inverury with such expedition and secrecy, that he almost surprised Macleod in his quarters. It was late before

Lord Lewis reached the place, and Macleod had barely time to put his men under arms, and to seize some advantageous posts in the town. Daylight had disappeared before the action commenced; but the light of the moon enabled the combatants to see one another. Both sides continued to fire for some time; but Lord John Drummond's soldiers and the Farquharsons having advanced close upon the Macleods, the latter fled, and never halted till they had recrossed the Spey. Very few men were killed on either side; but the victors took forty-one prisoners, among whom were Mr. Gordon, younger of Ardoch; Forbes of Echt; Maitland of Petrichie; and John Chalmers, one of the regents of the University of Aberdeen.

Shortly after this skirmish, Lord Lewis Gordon marched his men to the general rendezvous at Perth, where, about the time of Prince Charles's return from England, about four thousand men were collected. These consisted of the Mackintoshes, the Frasers, the part of the Mackenzies attached to Charles, and the Farquharsons; of recruits sent from the Highlands to the clan regiments that had gone to England; of the forces raised by Lord Lewis Gordon, Sir James Kinloch, and other gentlemen in the low country of the north; and of the troops brought over from France by Lord John Drummond.

While this mixed body lay at Perth, a disagreement occurred between the Highlanders and the other troops, which might have led to serious consequences if the arrival of an order sent by the prince from Dumfries, requiring them to hold themselves in readiness to join him, had not put an end to the dispute. This disagreement was occasioned by the conduct of Lord Strathallan and his council of officers, on receiving the order which Charles had sent from Carlisle by Maclauchlan of Mac-

lauchlan, to march with all their forces, and to follow the army into England. This order, contrary to the opinion of Maclauchlan and all the Highland officers, they had considered it inexpedient to obey. The result was, that the Highland officers caballed together, and resolved to march; but as the Highlanders had no money, as many of those who had come last from the Highlands wanted arms, and as Lord Strathallan was in possession of the money, arms, ammunition, and stores, they could not proceed. In this dilemma they entered into a combination to seize the money and arms, and, persisting in their resolution to march, matters were proceeding to extremities when Rollo of Powhouse arrived at Perth with the order alluded to, which at once put an end to the dispute.

The inhabitants of Edinburgh, relieved from the presence of the Highland army, had lived for five weeks in a state of comparative security. Public worship had been resumed in several of the city churches on the third of November, and in all of them on the tenth. The state officers, who had retired to Berwick, did not, however, return till the thirteenth, when they entered the city with an air of triumph, which accorded ill with their recent conduct as fugitives. Attended by the sheriffs of East Lothian and Berwickshire, and a great number of the gentlemen of these counties, the officers of state walked into the city in procession, and were saluted by a round from the great guns of the castle. The music-bells kept up a merry peal during the whole of the procession, which was responded to by the acclamations of the inhabitants. On the following day, Lieutenant-General Handasyd arrived, as before stated, at Edinburgh with Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's (lately Gardiner's) dragoons; and, on the seventh of December, these troops were sent

west to Stirling, where, in conjunction with the Glasgow and Paisley militia, amounting to nearly seven hundred men, commanded by the Earl of Home, they guarded the passes of the Forth. In the meantime, exertions were made to reembody the Edinburgh regiment; but these do not appear to have been attended with success. With the exception of some young men who formed themselves into a volunteer company, few of the inhabitants were disposed to take up arms, as they were fully sensible, that without a sufficient force of regular troops, no effectual resistance could be opposed to the Highlanders, should they return to the city.

In this situation of matters, the news of the Highlanders having crossed the Esk in their retreat from England, reached Edinburgh, and threw the civil and military authorities into a state of consternation. Ignorant of the route the Highlanders meant to follow, they were extremely perplexed how to act. They naturally apprehended another visit, and their fears seemed to be confirmed by the return to Edinburgh of the regular troops from the west, on the twenty-third of December, and by the arrival of the Glasgow regiment the next day, all of whom had retreated to Edinburgh on the approach of the Highlanders. Afraid of a second visit from the Highlanders, the directors of the banks and the heads of the public offices had, during the twenty-second and the twenty-third, transferred them to the castle, whither the inhabitants had also removed their most valuable effects. A resolution was adopted by the public authorities to put the city in a proper state of defence, and, on the twenty-ninth, a paper was read in the city churches, acquainting the inhabitants, that it had been resolved in a council of war to defend the city. Next day a considerable number of men from the parishes in the neighbourhood,

who had been provided with arms from the castle, entered the city, and were drawn up in the High Street. The men of each parish marched by themselves, and were attended in most instances by their respective ministers. These were joined by other small corps, one of the most remarkable of which was a body of seceders, belonging to the associated congregations of Edinburgh and Dalkeith, carrying a standard with this inscription, "For Religion, Covenants, King, and Kingdoms." The ministers of these fanatical religionists, not being of such a pugnacious disposition as their brethren of the establishment, did not appear in the ranks.

Had the Highlanders chosen to march upon Edinburgh, the resolution to defend it would not have been carried into effect, as it was the intention of the regular troops to have retired to Berwick on their approach; but, fortunately for the reputation of the new defenders of the capital, an army under Lieutenant-General Hawley was now on its march into Scotland. This gentleman, who had just been appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland, though described by the Duke of Newcastle as "an officer of great ability and experience," was in fact a man of very ordinary military attainments, and in no way fitted for the important duty which had been assigned him. His whole genius lay, as Mr. John Forbes of Culloden observed to his father, the president, in the management of a squadron, or in prosecuting with vigour any mortal to the gallows. He had a very sorry opinion of the prowess of the Highlanders, whom he was confident of beating, if his troops were in good condition, without regard to the numbers of their opponents; but he was destined soon to find out his mistake.

To expedite the march of the English army, the gentlemen and farmers of Teviotdale, the Merse, and the

Lothians furnished horses, by means of which the first division of the royal army, consisting of a battalion of the Scots Royals and Battereau's foot, reached Edinburgh as early as the second of January, where they were joined in succession by Fleming's and Blackeney's regiments on the third; that of Major-General Huske on the fourth; by Hawley himself on the sixth; by the regiments of Wolfe (not, as has been supposed, the immortal general of that name) and Cholmondeley on the seventh; by Howard's (the old Buffs) and Monro's on the eighth; and by Barrel's and Pulteney's on the tenth. At Dunbar, Aberlady, and other places, these troops were entertained by the proprietors in East Lothian, who allowed each soldier a pound of beef, a pound of bread, a glass of spirits, and a bottle of ale. They were also feasted at Edinburgh at the expense of the city, where they were courteously received by the terrified inhabitants, who furnished them with blankets, and evinced great anxiety to make them comfortable. The citizens also illuminated their houses; and such as declined had their windows broken by the mob, who also demolished with an unsparing hand all the windows of such houses as were uninhabited. On his arrival in the city, the commander-in-chief justified Mr. Forbes's opinion by causing one gallows to be erected in the Grassmarket, and another between Leith and Edinburgh, on which it is supposed he meant to hang such unfortunate victims as might fall into his hands.

To return to Charles. On his arrival at Glasgow, his first care was to provide for the necessities of his men, who were in a most pitiable plight from the want of clothing. He ordered the magistrates to furnish the army with twelve thousand shirts, six thousand cloth coats, six thousand pairs of stockings, and six thousand waistcoats. Enraged at the conduct of the citizens

for having subscribed to the fund for raising troops against him, the prince sent for Buchanan, the provost, and demanded the names of the subscribers, and threatened to hang him in case of refusal; but the provost, undismayed, replied that he would name nobody except himself, that he had subscribed largely, as he thought he was discharging a duty, and that he was not afraid to die in such a cause. The provost had to pay a fine of £500 as the penalty of his refusal.

The mansion which Charles occupied during his residence in Glasgow belonged to a rich merchant named Glassford. It was the best house in the city, and stood at the western extremity of the Trongate, but has long since disappeared. While in Glasgow he ate twice a day in public. The table was spread in a small dining-room, at which he sat down without ceremony with a few of his officers in the Highland dress. He was waited upon on these occasions by a few Jacobite ladies. Charles courted popularity, and, to attract attention, dressed more elegantly in Glasgow than at any other place; but the citizens of Glasgow kept up a reserve, which made Charles remark, with a feeling of mortifying disappointment, that he had never been in a place where he found fewer friends. Though dissatisfied with the people, he seemed, however, greatly to admire the regularity and beauty of the buildings.

Having refitted his army, Charles, within a few days after his arrival, reviewed it on Glasgow Green, in presence of a large concourse of spectators, and had the satisfaction to find that, with the exception of those he had left at Carlisle, he had not lost more than forty men during his expedition into England. Hitherto he had carefully concealed his weakness, but now, thinking himself sure of doubling his army in a few days, he was not unwilling to let the world see the handful of men

with whom he had penetrated into the very heart of England, and returned in the face of two powerful armies almost without loss.

Abandoning, in the meantime, his project of returning to England, Charles resolved to lay siege to the castles of Stirling and Edinburgh. He depended much for success upon the artillery and engineers brought over by Lord John Drummond, and looked confidently forward for additional succours from France in terms of the repeated assurances he had received. Having determined on beginning with Stirling, he sent orders to Lord Strathallan, Lord John Drummond, Lord Lewis Gordon, and other commanders in the north, to join him forthwith with all their forces. To accelerate a junction with the forces at Perth, the prince marched his army from Glasgow on the fourth day of January, 1746, in two divisions, one of which, commanded by the prince, took the road to Kilsyth, where it passed the night. Charles himself took up his quarters in Kilsyth house, then belonging to Mr. Campbell of Shawfield. Mr. Campbell's steward, it is said, was ordered to provide everything necessary for the comfort of the prince, under a promise of payment, but was told next morning that the bill should be allowed to his master at accounting for the rents of Kilsyth, which was a forfeited estate. Next day Charles marched towards Stirling, and encamped his division at Denny, Bannockburn, and St. Ninians. He passed the night at Bannockburn house, the seat of Sir Hugh Paterson, where he was received with Jacobite hospitality. The other division, consisting of six battalions of the clans, under Lord George Murray, spent the first night at Cumbernauld, and the next at Falkirk, where they fixed their quarters.

Preparatory to the siege of the castle, Charles resolved to reduce the town of Stirling. The inhabitants, en-

couraged by General Blakeney, the governor of the castle, came to the determination of defending it; and a body of about six hundred volunteers, all inhabitants of the town, was supplied by the governor with arms and ammunition from the castle, and promised every assistance he could afford them. He told them, at the same time, that if they should be overpowered they could make a good retreat, as he would keep an open door for them. Animated by the activity of the magistrates and the clergymen of the town, — among whom the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, the father of the Secession, who commanded two companies of Seceders, was particularly distinguished, — the inhabitants proceeded to put the town in a posture of defence.

In the afternoon of Saturday the fourth of January the Highlanders had nearly surrounded the town; but they did not complete the investment till next day, which was partly occupied in cutting down some trees intended for fascines, on which they meant to construct a battery. About eight o'clock in the evening they sent a drummer to the east gate with a message; but, being fired upon by the sentinels, he threw away his drum and fled. The insurgents fired several shots into the town during the night, which were responded to by the volunteers, who were all under arms, and posted in different parties at the different bye-entries and paths into the town, and at such parts of the wall as were deemed insufficient. During the night the utmost alarm prevailed among the inhabitants, and few of them went to bed. Some fled from the town, and others retired into the castle; but the magistrates and the other principal inhabitants remained all night in the council chamber in which they had assembled, to give such direction and assistance as might be necessary, in case an assault should be attempted during the night.

Next morning the insurgents were discovered erecting a battery within musket shot of the town, almost opposite to the east gate, in a situation where the cannon of the castle could not be brought to bear upon them. The volunteers kept up a constant fire of musketry upon them; but, in spite of this annoyance, the Highlanders completed the battery before noon. Charles, thereupon, sent a verbal message to the magistrates, requiring them instantly to surrender the town; but, at their solicitation, they obtained till ten o'clock next day to make up their minds. The message was taken into consideration at a public meeting of the inhabitants, and the question of surrender was long and anxiously debated. The majority, having come to the resolution that it was impossible to defend the town with the handful of men within, two deputies were sent to Bannockburn, the headquarters of the Highland army, who offered to surrender on terms; and they stated that, rather than surrender at discretion, as required, they would defend the town to the last extremity. After a negotiation, which occupied the greater part of Tuesday, the following terms of capitulation were agreed upon, viz.: that no demand should be made upon the town revenues; that the inhabitants should not be molested in their persons or effects; and that the arms in the town should be returned to the castle. Pending this negotiation, the Highlanders, to terrify the inhabitants into a speedy submission, as is supposed, discharged twenty-seven shots from the battery into the town, which, however, did no other damage than beating down a few chimney tops. After the arms were carried into the castle, the gates were thrown open on Wednesday the eighth, and the Highlanders entered the town about three o'clock in the afternoon.

Being in want of battering cannon for a siege, Charles

had, before his departure from Glasgow, sent orders to Lord John Drummond, to bring up the pieces which he had brought over from France. As General Blakeney had broken down part of Stirling bridge to prevent the insurgents at Perth from crossing the Forth at Stirling, some of the battering cannon were sent to the Frews, and were transported across that ford by means of floats, while the rest were brought to Alloa as a nearer road for the purpose of being transported across the Frith of Forth. Great difficulty was experienced in getting over these pieces, and as there was but a small guard along with them, they might have fallen into the hands of a party of troops sent up the Frith by Hawley, had not Lord George Murray, on hearing of their embarkation, sent over Lochiel with his regiment, which had lately been augmented by recruits, and was now seven hundred strong.

As there were no ships at Alloa, Lord George seized a vessel lying off Airth to transport his cannon across the Frith. This was a fortunate circumstance, as two sloops of war, the *Pearl* and *Vulture*, sailed up the Frith next tide from Leith roads to seize all the vessels and boats in the neighbourhood, and otherwise to obstruct the conveyance of the cannon. General Hawley, about the same time, viz., on the eighth of January, sent up some armed boats, and a small vessel with cannon from Leith, manned with three hundred men under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton, to destroy all the works the Highlanders had made to cover the passage of their cannon. The sloops of war anchored in Kincardine roads, whence, on the morning of the eighth, two long boats well manned were sent up towards Airth, in conjunction with the other boats and small armed vessel, to burn two vessels lying in the neighbourhood which could not be launched till the spring tides.

This service they effected without the loss of a single man, though the boats were fired upon by the Highlanders who were posted in the village. Having been prevented returning to the station off Kincardine, by the lowness of the tide, the Highlanders opened a battery of three pieces of cannon next morning upon the flotilla, but without doing it any damage. The Highlanders are said to have had two of their cannon dismounted on this occasion by the fire from the sloop, and to have sustained a loss of several men, including their principal engineer.[31]

Apprehensive that the flotilla would next attempt to set fire to the other vessel, Lord George Murray erected a battery of four guns at Elphinstonepans to command the river, and to keep off the sloops of war should they attempt to come up. In addition to the troops stationed at Airth, his lordship sent a reinforcement of between three and four hundred men from Falkirk, which arrived at Elphinstone and Airth on the tenth. At this time the vessel which had been seized at Airth was lying at Alloa, and had taken two, out of seven pieces of cannon, with some ammunition on board. To capture this vessel, a large boat, having fifty soldiers on board, along with the boats belonging to the sloops of war, well manned and armed, were sent up the river during the night of the tenth, with instructions to lie all night a mile above Alloa, in order to intercept the vessel should an attempt be made to carry her up the river during the night. Unfortunately, however, for this design, the boats grounded after passing the town, and the Highlanders who were posted in the town, having, by this accident, come to the knowledge that the enemy was at hand, immediately beat to arms, and commenced a random fire from right to left, which forced the boats to retreat down the river. Next morn-

ing, however, the two sloops of war, accompanied by some smaller vessels, went up the river with the tide, and casting anchor opposite to, and within musket-shot, of the battery, opened a brisk fire. Three of the smaller vessels anchored in a convenient place to play upon the village of Elphinstone, and two more hovered along as if inclined to land some soldiers, with which they were crowded. The firing was kept up on both sides, for upwards of three hours, without much damage on either side. The cable of one of the sloops of war having been cut asunder by a cannon shot, an accident which forced her from her station, and the two pilots in the other having each lost a leg, the assailants abandoned the enterprise, and fell down the river with the ebb-tide. Being now relieved from the presence of the enemy, Lord George brought over the cannon and stores without further opposition.

On the twelfth of January, two days after he had taken possession of the town, Charles broke ground before Stirling castle, between the church and a large house at the head of the town, called Marr's work. Here he raised a battery against the castle, upon which he mounted two sixteen pounders, two pieces of eight, and three of three. The prince thereupon summoned General Blakeney to surrender, but his answer was, that he would defend the place to the last extremity; that as honour had hitherto been his rule through life, he would rather die than stain it by abandoning his post, and that his Royal Highness would assuredly have a very bad opinion of him, were he to surrender the castle in such a cowardly manner. To prevent any intelligence of their operations being carried to the enemy, the Highlanders shut the gates of the town, and placed guards at all the outlets. The siege went on very slowly, and Charles soon perceived that he had

chosen a bad situation for his battery, which was so exposed to the fire of the castle, that its works were speedily demolished, and the cannon dismounted.

While the siege was going on, the forces in the north under Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond began to arrive at Stirling. By these reinforcements the prince's army was increased to nine thousand men, all in the highest spirits. The Macdonalds, the Camerons, and the Stuarts were now twice as numerous as they were when the Highland army entered England, and Lord Ogilvy had got a second battalion, under the command of Sir James Kinloch, as lieutenant-colonel, much stronger than the first. The Frasers, the Mackintoshes, and Farquharsons were reckoned three hundred men each, and in addition to these, the Earl of Cromarty, and his son, Lord Macleod, had also brought up their men.

Conceiving himself in a sufficiently strong condition to give battle to the Highlanders, General Hawley began to put the troops he had assembled at Edinburgh in motion towards the west. His force amounted to upwards of nine thousand men, of whom thirteen hundred were cavalry, and he might in a few days have increased it considerably by the addition of some regiments which were on their march to join him. He had also reason to expect the immediate arrival in the Frith of Forth of a body of six thousand Hessians who had embarked at Williamstadt on the first of January, by which accession his army would have been almost doubled; but impatient to acquire a renown which had been denied to Cope, his predecessor, of whose capacity he had been heard to speak very contemptuously, Hawley resolved not to wait for his expected reinforcements, but to seize the laurels which were in imagination already within his grasp.

Accordingly, on the morning of the thirteenth of January, the first division of the royal army, consisting of five regiments of foot, together with the Glasgow regiment of militia, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's (late Gardiner's) dragoons, all under the command of Major-General Huske, left Edinburgh and marched westward to Linlithgow. Hearing that preparations had been made at Linlithgow for the reception of these troops, and that provisions and forage had been collected in that town for the use of Hawley's army, Lord George Murray left Falkirk at four o'clock the same morning for Linlithgow, with five battalions of the clans for the purpose of capturing these stores. He was joined on the road by Lord Elcho's and Lord Pitsligo's troops of life-guards, whom he had ordered to meet him. Before sunrise he had completely surrounded the town, and as Lord George had been informed that Huske's division was to enter the town at night, he called his officers together before marching into town, and having told them the object for which they had come, he desired that they would continue ready to assemble in the street on a moment's warning, in order to march wherever they might be directed. After taking possession of the town, and apprehending a few militia, Lord George sent forward some patroles on the road to Edinburgh, to reconnoitre while the Highlanders were engaged in seizing the articles prepared for the royal forces; but they had scarcely been an hour in town when these advanced parties discovered a body of dragoons advancing towards the town. Two of the patroles came back at full speed, and having given Lord George notice of their approach, he marched with his men out of the town. The dragoons retired as the Highlanders advanced. Their horse, with two hundred of the best foot, followed them about two miles; but

the main body returned to Linlithgow, where they dined. With the exception of a few small reconnoitring parties, the advanced body also returned to the town; but in less than an hour one of these parties came in with information that the dragoons were again returning with a large body of horse and foot. Lord George resolved to attack them when the half of them should pass the bridge, half a mile west from the town, and after waiting with his men on the streets till Huske had reached the east end of the town, he retired in the expectation that the royalist general would follow him; but Huske, who marched above the town, though he followed the Highlanders to the bridge, did not pass it. Lord George returned to Falkirk, and by orders of the prince marched next day to Bannockburn.

On the fourteenth three other regiments marched from Edinburgh towards Borrowstowness, to support the division under Huske, and these were followed next day by three additional regiments. With these forces Huske marched on the sixteenth to Falkirk, and encamped to the northwest of the town with his front towards Stirling. In the evening he was joined by the remainder of the army, and the artillery, consisting of ten pieces of cannon. General Hawley himself arrived at Callander house the same evening. Next morning the army was joined by Cobham's dragoons, who had just arrived from England, and by about a thousand Argyleshire men, chiefly Campbells, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, afterward Duke of Argyle. Besides this corps, this Whig clan furnished another of a thousand men, which was posted about Inverary, under Major-General Campbell, the colonel's father, to guard the passes. Along with the army was a company called the Yorkshire Blues, raised, maintained, and commanded by a gentleman by the name of Thornton. Several

volunteers, among whom were several clergymen, also accompanied the army on this occasion.

Having received intelligence of the advance of the royalists to Falkirk, Charles, on the evening of the sixteenth, ordered the different detachments of his army to concentrate upon Plean moor, about seven miles from that town, and two miles to the east of Bannockburn, where his headquarters were. He, however, left several battalions, amounting to about a thousand men, in Stirling, under the Duke of Perth, to push on the siege of the castle. Nobody supposed that the prince, in issuing this order, had any other object in contemplation than to review his army, and of such little importance was it considered, that although the order was made immediately known on all sides, it was near twelve o'clock next day before the different parts of the army arrived from their cantonments. After the army had been drawn up in line of battle, Charles called a council of war, and for the first time stated his intention of giving immediate battle to Hawley. That general had, it is believed, been informed of the probability of an attack, but he treated the information lightly, and instead of attending to the affairs of his camp, spent the morning at Callander house with the Countess of Kilmarnock, with whom he breakfasted. The Torwood, once a forest of great extent, celebrated as the chief retreat of the heroic Wallace, but now greatly decayed, lay between the two armies; and through what was once the middle of the forest, the high road from Stirling to Falkirk, by Bannockburn, passes.

From information which Charles had received, he supposed that Hawley would have advanced and offered him battle; but seeing no appearance of him, he put his army in motion about midday, towards Falkirk. While the main body of the army marched in two col-

umns along the moor, on the west side of the Torwood, where they could not be seen from Hawley's camp, a third body of horse and foot, under Lord John Drummond, appeared upon the high road which runs through the centre of the Torwood, and moved about, displaying their colours in view of the enemy, as if they intended to attack Hawley's camp. The object of this parade was to draw off the attention of the enemy from the main body, which was advancing unperceived towards Falkirk, by a different route. After the two columns had advanced about half a mile, Lord George Murray received an order from the prince to delay passing the water of Carron till night, as he did not think it advisable to cross in the face of the enemy, but his lordship having satisfied his Royal Highness of the impropriety of the order, he was allowed to proceed. Ignorant of the approach of the main body of the Highlanders, Hawley's officers thought the demonstration made by the body on the high road unworthy of attention, but they were aroused from their apathy by a countryman, who arrived in the camp with intelligence that the Highlanders were close upon them. Two of the officers immediately ascended a tree, and, by means of a telescope, descried the Highland army marching towards Falkirk, by the south side of the Torwood. This was a little before one o'clock, and the officers having communicated the circumstance to Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, their commanding officer, he went to Callander house and informed the general of it. Instead, however, of ordering his men to get under arms, Hawley directed that they should merely put on their accoutrements. This order was obeyed, and the troops sat down to dinner, but before they had finished their repast, the Generale beat to arms.

When the Highlanders came in sight of the water

of Carron, the town of Falkirk, and the enemy's camp, also opened upon their view. It was now between one and two o'clock, and some well-mounted scouts, who were on the opposite side of the water, on observing the Highlanders, immediately rode off at full gallop, and reported that the Highland army was about to cross the Carron at Dunnipace. The alarm which this intelligence produced in the royalist camp was very great. Hawley was instantly sent for, and the commanding officers, who were exceedingly perplexed, formed their regiments as quickly as possible upon the ground in front of the camp. The general, instantly mounting his horse, galloped to the camp, and in his haste left his hat behind him.

In taking the circuitous route by the south side of the Torwood, Charles had a double object in view — to conceal his approach from the enemy as long as he could, and to obtain possession of Falkirk moor, about two miles southwest of Hawley's camp, and which, from the nature of the ground, was considered well fitted for the operations of a Highland army. Suspecting that it was the prince's design to secure the heights of the moor, Hawley at once determined to prevent him, if possible, and accordingly on his arrival at the camp he ordered the three regiments of dragoons to march towards the moor, and take possession of the high ground between them and the insurgents. He also directed the infantry to follow them with fixed bayonets. This was a rash and inconsiderate step, as Hawley had never examined the ground, which he found, when too late, was by no means a suitable field of battle for his troops. In ordering his army to march up the moor, the English commander is said to have been impressed with the idea that the Highlanders did not mean to attack him, but to give him the slip, and march back

to England, and that his object was to intercept them and bring them to action. This explanation, however, is by no means satisfactory.

After crossing the Carron at Dunnipace Steps, the main body of the Highlanders stretched along the moor in two parallel lines, about two hundred paces asunder. The column next the royal army consisted of the clan regiments which had been in England, and of the recruits which had lately arrived from the Highlands, with the Frasers, and a battalion of the Farquharsons. The other column, which was to the right of the last mentioned, consisted of the Athole brigade, the Maclauchlans, the battalions of Ogilvy and Gordon, and Lord John Drummond's regiment. After reaching the bottom of the hill, the columns faced to the left, and began to ascend the eminence. Almost simultaneous with this movement, Hawley's dragoons, proceeding along the eastern wall of Bantaskin enclosures, rapidly ascended the hill also, followed by the foot with fixed bayonets. At this instant, the sky, which till then had been unusually serene, became suddenly overcast, and before the foot had advanced far, a violent storm of wind and rain burst from the southwest, which beat directly in the faces of the soldiers, and retarded their march up the hill. A running contest seemed now to take place between the dragoons and the advanced divisions of the Highland columns, consisting of the Macdonalds and the Athole men, to gain the summit of the ridge of the moor. Both parties reached the top of the hill about the same time, and possessed themselves of two eminences, within musket shot of each other. To prevent the dragoons gaining the advantage of the ground and the wind, the Macdonalds and Athole men had advanced with such rapidity, that they had left the rear of the columns considerably behind,

and on reaching the height of the moor, they halted to give time to the rear to come up.

Meanwhile Lord George Murray, who commanded the right wing, proceeded to make the necessary arrangements for battle. In forming, the two columns merely faced to the left, by which simple movement the eastern column at once became, as originally designed, the front line. When completed, the order of battle of the Highland army was as follows. On the extreme right of the first line, stood the Macdonalds of Keppoch, next to these the Macdonalds of Clan Ranald, and in succession the regiment of Glengary, a battalion of Farquharsons under Farquharson of Bumarrel,[32] the Mackenzies, the Mackintoshes, the Macphersons under Cluny their chief, the Frasers under the master of Lovat, the Stuarts of Appin, and the Camerons, who formed the extreme left of this line. The second line, which chiefly consisted of the low country regiments, was composed of the Athole brigade, which formed the right wing, of Lord Ogilvy's regiment of two battalions in the centre, and of the regiment of Lord Lewis Gordon, also of two battalions, which formed the left of the line. At the distance of about twenty yards in the rear of the centre of the second line, the prince was stationed with some horse and foot, and was joined before the commencement of the action by Lord John Drummond, with a large body of horse, the Irish piquets and the other troops, with which he had made the feint, as a *corps de reserve*. Some of the horse guards under Lords Elcho and Balmerino, and also some of the hussars, who were on the right of the prince, were sent farther to the right to protect the flank, but they were prevented from extending farther, by a morass, which covered the right wing, and were obliged to draw up behind the Athole men. At the opposite extremity on the left

of the prince, Lords Pitsligo's and Kilmarnock's horse were stationed.

The infantry of the royal army was also formed in two lines, with a body of reserve in the rear; but the disposition of the cavalry, as will be seen, was altogether different from that of the insurgent army. The first line consisted of the regiments of Ligonier, Price, Royal Scots, Pulteney, Cholmondeley, and Wolfe, and the second of those of Battereau, Barrel, Fleming, Munro, and Blakeney. The names of the regiments are here given according to the order they stood, beginning with the right. Behind the right of the second line, Howard's regiment was stationed as a reserve. The Glasgow regiment, and other Lowland militia, were posted as another body of reserve, near some cottages behind the left of the dragoons; and the Argyleshire men were placed at some distance from the right of the royal army, to watch the motions of the forces under Lord John Drummond, who seemed, before they joined the two columns on the moor, to threaten an attack upon the camp. The left of the dragoons was directly opposite to Keppoch's regiment, but by keeping large intervals between their squadrons, their right extended as far down as the centre of Lord Lovat's regiment, which stood the third from the left of the insurgent army. In consequence of this extension of the front line of the royal army, Lochiel's regiment, which was upon the left extremity of the opposite line, was outflanked by three of the royal regiments. With the exception of one or two regiments in each line, which, by their proximity to the top of the moor, had reached ground somewhat level, the rest of the king's infantry stood on the declivity of the hill, and so great was the inequality of the ground, that the opposite wings alone of either army were visible to each other. Between

the right of the royal army and the left of that of the insurgents, there was a ravine, which, beginning on the declivity of the hill, directly opposite the centre of the Fraser battalion, ran in a northerly direction, and gradually widened and deepened till it reached the plain. The right of the royal army was commanded by Major-General Huske, the centre by Hawley himself, and the left by Brigadier Cholmondeley, but the three regiments of dragoons on the left were under the immediate command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ligonier. The colonel's own dragoon regiment, formerly Gardiner's, was stationed on the extreme left. Hamilton's dragoons were posted on the right, and Cobham's in the centre.

In the action about to commence, the combatants on both sides were deprived of the use of their artillery. The Highlanders, from the rapidity of their march, left their cannon behind them, and those belonging to Hawley's army, consisting of ten pieces, stuck fast in a swamp at the bottom of the hill. The royal forces were greatly superior to the Highlanders in numbers, but the latter had the advantage of the ground, and having the wind and the rain in their backs, were not annoyed to the same extent as their adversaries, who received the wind and rain directly in their faces.[33]

The right wing of the Highland army and Hawley's cavalry had remained upwards of a quarter of an hour within musket shot of each other, waiting the coming up of the other forces, when General Hawley sent an order to Colonel Ligonier, to attack the Highlanders. At the time this order was despatched, some of his troops destined for the centre of his second line had not reached their posts, but Hawley, impatient of delay, and led astray by a mistaken though prevalent idea, that the Highlanders could not stand the shock of cavalry, resolved to commence the action with the dragoons

only. Ligonier, who appears to have entertained more correct notions on this subject than the generalissimo, was surprised at the order; but he proceeded to put it in execution.

Before advancing, Colonel Ligonier made several motions, with the design of drawing off the fire of the Highlanders, and riding in among them, and breaking their ranks; but they did not fire a shot. Conjecturing that the dragoons were to be supported by a body of infantry in their rear, Lord George Murray, to whom no such description of force was discernible at the time, sent Colonel Roy Stuart and Anderson, the guide at the battle of Preston, forward on horseback to reconnoitre. On receiving their report that they had not observed any foot, Lord George resolved to anticipate his opponent Ligonier, by attacking the dragoons. Accordingly he gave orders to the right wing to advance slowly, and, passing along the line, desired the men to keep their ranks, and not to fire till he gave them orders. Lord George, with his sword in his hand, and his target on his arm, then took his station at the head of the first line, which, with the second, continued to advance in good order. The dragoons, on observing the approach of the Highlanders, also began to move forward, and were instantly at the full trot. They came up in very good order, till within pistol shot of the first line of the Highlanders, when Lord George Murray presented his piece as the signal to fire. The Highlanders, thereupon, discharged a volley with such precision and effect, that the dragoons were entirely broken, and many of them were killed and wounded. Hamilton's and Ligonier's regiments instantly wheeled about, and galloped down the hill, riding over and trampling upon some of their party, and carrying along with them a company of the Glasgow regiment. Cobham's regiment, which had just

returned from foreign service, however, stood its ground for some time, and breaking through the first line of the Highlanders, trampled many of them under foot. A singular combat then ensued. Deprived of the use of their broadswords, some of the Highlanders, who lay stretched on the ground, had recourse to their dirks, which they plunged into the bellies of the horses. Others seized the riders by their clothes, and dragging them from their horses, stabbed them with the same weapon. In this *mêlée* the chief of Clan Ranald made a narrow escape, having been trodden down, and before he was able to rise a dead horse fell upon him, the weight of which prevented him from extricating himself without assistance. While in this perilous situation, he saw a dismounted dragoon and a Highlander struggling near him, and for a time the issue seemed doubtful. The anxiety of the chief, whose own preservation seemed to depend on the success of his clansman, was soon relieved, when he saw the Highlander throw his antagonist, and instantly despatch him with his dirk. The Highlander thereupon came up to the prostrate chief, and drew him from under the horse. The dragoons, unable any longer to contend with the Macdonalds, galloped off to the right between the two armies, and received the fire of the remainder of the front line of the Highlanders, as they went along, as far down as Lord Lovat's regiment.

Afraid that, after the flight of the dragoons, the Highlanders would commence a disorderly pursuit, Lord George Murray ordered the Macdonalds of Keppoch to keep their ranks, and sent a similar order to the two other Macdonald regiments. But notwithstanding this command of the lieutenant-general, and the efforts of the officers, who, with drawn swords and cocked pistols, endeavoured to restrain them from an immediate pursuit, a considerable number of the men of these

two regiments, along with all the regiments on their left, as far down as the head of the ravine, rushed down the hill in pursuit of the enemy. They were received with a volley from some of the regiments, on the left of the first line of the royal army, and having returned the fire, the Highlanders threw away their muskets, and drawing their swords, rushed in upon the enemy. Unable to resist the impetuosity of the attack, the whole of the royal army, with the exception of Barrel's regiment, and part of the regiments of Price and Ligonier, gave way. At first the Highlanders supposed that the rout was complete, and General Hawley himself, who was huddled off the field among a confused mass of horse and foot, was of the same opinion; but the Highlanders were undeceived, when coming near the bottom of the hill, they received a fire in flank from these regiments, which threw them into great disorder, and obliged them to retire up the hill. The Camerons and the Stuarts, who were on the opposite side of the ravine, suffered also from the fire of this body, and were likewise obliged to fall back.

Meanwhile Lord George Murray, who observed the confusion in Hawley's army, was moving down the hill with the Athole men in good order, for the purpose of attacking it on its retreat. He had sent orders by Colonel Ker, to the reserve to advance on the left, and having met scattered parties of the Macdonalds returning up the hill, he endeavoured to rally them as he marched down, but without effect. Before reaching the bottom of the hill, Lord George obtained a complete view of the disorder which prevailed in the enemy's ranks. With the exception of the three regiments of foot, and Cobham's dragoons, which were marching rapidly towards Falkirk, and covering the rear of the other fugitives, the remainder of the royal army was

running off to the right and left, by forties and fifties; but as Lord George had not more than six or seven hundred men with him, and as the rest of the Highland army was scattered over the face of the hill, he resolved to halt at its foot. Here he was joined by the Irish piquets, and by Lord John Drummond, and other officers. Some of the officers advised a retreat towards Dunnipace, that the men might obtain shelter during the night from the rain, which was excessive; but his lordship strongly advised that they should endeavour to obtain possession of Falkirk immediately, while the confusion lasted, and he concluded with Count Mercy's expression at the battle of Parma, that he would either lie in the town or in paradise. While this discussion was going on, the prince arrived, and approved highly of the views of his lieutenant-general. Charles was advised, in the meantime, to retire to some house on the face of the hill, till the result of the attempt should be known.

It was now almost dark, and as the fires of Hawley's camp indicated an apparent intention on his part to retain possession of the town, the officers assembled at the bottom of the hill considered it unsafe to advance farther, till they had ascertained the state of matters. To procure intelligence, Mr. Drummond, eldest son of Lord Strathallan, and Oliphant, younger of Gask, entered Falkirk, disguised as peasants, and having ascertained that General Hawley, after issuing orders to set fire to his tents, had abandoned the town, and was returning to Linlithgow, they immediately returned to their friends with the information. The body collected at the foot of the hill now advanced upon Falkirk, in three detachments, one of which, under Lochiel, entered the town at the west end, another under Lord George Murray, at the centre, and the other, under Lord John

Drummond, by a lane called the Cow wynd, at the east end. Some stragglers, who had remained behind, were taken prisoners, one of whom fired at Lord John Drummond, when about to seize him, and wounded him slightly in the arm. Information of the occupation of the town, by the Highlanders, was sent to the prince, who immediately repaired thither, and took up his residence in the house now occupied as the post office, which fronts the steeple.

So great was the disorder that existed in the Highland army, occasioned by the rash and impetuous conduct of the Macdonalds, in leaving their ranks, and by the check received from the three regiments, that it was about four hours after the close of the battle, which lasted scarcely twenty minutes, before the greater part of the army had any information of the result. The Highlanders were dispersed in every direction over the hill, and the different clans were mingled together pell-mell. The confusion was greatly increased by the obscurity of the night, and for several hours they wandered over the moor, uncertain whether they were to meet friends or foes. Early in the evening, many of the Highlanders had retired from the field of battle, either thinking it lost, or intending to seek shelter from the weather. During this disorder, the fate of the prince himself was equally unknown. Early in the action, he had sent one of his aides-de-camp with an order; but, on returning with an answer, the prince was no more to be seen. The officer, in searching for him, fell in with the prince's own life-guards, drawn up in order of battle, near a cottage on the edge of the hill, with their commander, Lord Elcho, at their head; but his lordship could give him no information respecting the prince. Lord Lewis Gordon, and several chiefs of the clans, ignorant even of the fate of their own regiments, met

together at the seat of Mr. Primrose, at Dunnipace, where they were joined every instant by other officers all equally ignorant of the result of the battle. At length about eight o'clock in the evening, all doubt was removed from the minds of this party, by the arrival of Macdonald of Lochgary, who announced that the Highland army had obtained a complete victory; that the English were flying in disorder towards Edinburgh; and that the prince was in possession of Falkirk, and in the quarters which had been occupied by General Hawley. He added, that he had been sent to Dunnipace, by the prince, with orders to the rest of the army to repair to Falkirk next morning by break of day.

Partly from the darkness of the evening, and partly from the impossibility of collecting a sufficiently numerous body of the Highlanders together, the prince was unable to continue the pursuit. About fifteen hundred of them had entered the town, but so intent were they upon securing the spoils of the English camp, that it was with difficulty that sufficient guards could be got for the town, and the prince's person, during the night. Besides, the Highlanders had been upon their legs for twelve hours, without receiving any refreshment, and were completely drenched to the skin, so that even had pursuit been otherwise practicable, they must have speedily desisted from excessive fatigue, and might probably have suffered from the dragoons which covered the rear of Hawley's foot.

In addition to seven pieces of cannon which had been abandoned by the captain of the train at the commencement of the action, Hawley left behind him all his baggage, and a large quantity of military stores. Owing to the rain, very few of his tents, to which he had set fire, were consumed. Besides the *matériel* of the royal army, several standards and stands of colours fell into

the hands of the victors. According to the official returns, the loss of the English, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 280, including a considerable number of officers; but these returns are supposed to be greatly underrated.[34] There were sixteen officers killed, on the government side, viz., Colonel Sir Robert Munro of Foulis; Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney of Ligonier's regiment of dragoons; Lieutenant-Colonel Biggar of Munro's regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Powell of Cholmondeley's regiment; five captains and one lieutenant of Wolfe's; and four captains and two lieutenants of Blakeney's regiment. Sir Robert's regiment, which consisted chiefly of his own clan, had particularly distinguished itself at the battle of Fontenoy; but on the present occasion it partook of the panic which had seized the other regiments on the left, and fled, leaving its colonel alone and unprotected. In this situation Sir Robert was attacked by six men of Lochiel's regiment, and, for some time gallantly defended himself with his half-pike. He killed two of his assailants, and would probably have despatched more, had not a seventh come up and shot him in the groin with a pistol. On falling, the Highlander struck him two blows across the face with his broadsword, which killed him on the spot. Doctor Munro of Obsdale, his brother, who, from fraternal affection, had attended Sir Robert to the field to afford him any medical assistance he might require, was standing close by his brother when he fell, and shared his fate at the hands of the same Highlander, who, after firing another pistol into his breast, cut him down with his claymore. The bodies of the two brothers, having been recognized the next day, were honourably interred in one grave in the churchyard of Falkirk in presence of all the chiefs.

The loss on the side of the Highlanders amounted

only to about forty men, among whom were two or three captains, and some subaltern officers. They had, however, near double that number wounded. Besides Lord John Drummond, young Lochiel and his brother, Doctor Archibald Cameron, were slightly wounded. Hawley's army could boast only of one prisoner, who fell into their hands by mere accident. This was Major Macdonald of Keppoch's regiment, cousin to the chief. Having pursued the flying English farther than any other person, he was in the act of returning to his corps, when in his way he observed, in the dusk of the evening, a body of men at some distance standing in a hollow near the bottom of the hill. Imagining this body to be Lord John Drummond's regiment and the French piquets, he ran forward towards the party with his sword still drawn, and when near them, cried out with a feeling of strong emotion: "Gentlemen, what are you doing here? Why don't ye follow after the dogs, and pursue them?" Scarcely, however, had he uttered these words, when he discovered that the body he accosted was an English regiment (Barrel's), and the cry, "Here is a rebel! here is a rebel!" at once met his ears. Escape being impossible, the major, thinking that he would not be discovered by the colour of his white cockade, which was quite dirty with the rain and the smoke of the firing, pretended that he was one of their own Campbells; but General Huske observed that it was easy to discover what the prisoner was by his sword, the blade of which was covered over with blood and hair. Huske gave orders, "to shoot the dog instantly," and a party of musketeers immediately presented their pieces at the major's breast; but Lord Robert Ker generously interposed, and, beating down the muskets, saved the major's life. The general having refused to receive the major's arms, they were accepted

by Lord Robert. When pulling his pistol from his belt, previously to surrendering his arms, Huske was alarmed, and exclaimed with an oath, that "the dog" was going to shoot him; but Macdonald indignantly observed that he was more of a gentleman than to do any such thing, and that he was only pulling off his pistol to deliver it up.[35] The major was carried to Edinburgh, and committed to the castle next day, and, after a few months' confinement, tried, convicted, and executed.

The victory would have been complete by the utter annihilation of the English army, had the prince taken the usual precautions to preserve unity of action among the different sections of his undisciplined host. Early in the morning, Lord George Murray had submitted a plan of the battle to his Royal Highness, and requested that he would name the officers that were to command, and assign them their different stations; but with the exception of Lord George himself, who was appointed to march at the head of the army, and who consequently had the command of the right wing, no other appointment appears to have been made. It seems to have been understood by Charles himself, that Lord John Drummond was to have commanded the left wing; but if such was the case, Lord John could have obtained no distinct notification thereof, as he never appeared in his place. It is maintained by Lord George Murray, that had there been an officer in command on the left, to have brought up two or three battalions from the second line, or from the *corps de reserve* so as to have extended the first line still farther to the left, and thus to have faced the English regiments which outflanked them, the whole of Hawley's foot must have been taken or destroyed, and that few even of the horse would have escaped, as the Highlanders would not have given over the chase till they had reached Linlithgow; and

that, in short, had the three regiments which outlined the Highlanders been faced, the battle would not have lasted ten minutes, as these regiments, instead of keeping their ground, pouring in part of their fire on the left flank of the Highlanders, and compelling those who attacked the right and centre of Hawley's foot sword in hand to retire to their former ground, would have given way with the rest of the main body. In the absence of Lord John Drummond, it was the duty of O'Sullivan, who, as adjutant-general, was chiefly entrusted by the prince with the formation of the left wing, to have brought up men for the purpose of extending the line; but instead of riding along the line as he should have done before the action, none of the officers of the first line of the Highland army saw him till the battle was over. While Lord John Drummond could not but be sensible of the error which had been committed on the left, he retaliated upon the lieutenant-general, by ascribing the escape of Hawley's army to the conduct of Lord George himself, who prevented part of the right wing from joining in the charge upon the foot, after the flight of the dragoons.

The English imputed their defeat chiefly to the violence of the storm, which was full in their faces during the action; but this, though certainly a formidable difficulty, was not the only one they had to encounter. To a combination of unfortunate circumstances, and not to any particular incident, is to be ascribed the unfortunate result which ensued. To Hawley's ignorance of the resistance which the Highlanders could oppose to cavalry, the loss of the battle was mainly owing. He had been major of Evans's dragoons at the battle of Sheriffmuir, where that regiment and the Scots Greys, led by the Duke of Argyle, after getting over a morass, which the intense frost of the preceding night had ren-

dered passable, attacked the flank of the insurgent army, which conceived itself secure from that quarter, and rode down, and drove off the field several regiments of Highlanders. Imagining from this occurrence, that the Highlanders could not withstand the charge of cavalry, he observed one day in a company of officers in Flanders, who were talking of the battle of Preston, that "*he* knew the Highlanders; they were good militia; but he was certain that they could not stand against a charge of dragoons, who attacked them well." Under this impression, he began the battle with his dragoons, before his infantry had been fully formed into line, and he soon saw the consequences of his indiscretion.

Though the field of battle is about twenty-six miles distant from Edinburgh, the intelligence of Hawley's defeat was known there before nine o'clock at night, by the arrival of some spectators who had witnessed the action, and by some of the dragoons who, impelled by fear, did not halt till they reached the capital. The English general passed the evening of the battle at Linlithgow, and marched next morning with the mass of his army for Edinburgh, where he arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon. A prey to disappointment and vexation, the appearance of Hawley on the morning after the battle is said by an observer to have been most wretched, and even worse than that of Cope a few hours after his "scuffle," when the same person saw him at Fala on his retreat to Berwick.

Before the return of Hawley's army, the greatest consternation prevailed among the friends of the government at Edinburgh from the reports of the fugitives the preceding night, who brought accounts of the total rout and dispersion of the army, exaggerated by the relation of circumstances which had no existence, save in their own terrified imaginations; but the arrival

of the greater part of the army served to dissipate their fears in some measure. Since the commencement of the rebellion, however, to its final close, never were the apprehensions of the supporters of the existing government more alarmingly excited than on the present occasion, when they saw the veteran troops, who had fought the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, return from Falkirk discomfited by a body of undisciplined mountaineers whom they had been taught to despise. The Jacobites, on the other hand, exulted at the victory, and gave expression to their feelings by openly deriding the vanquished.

The prince spent the eighteenth, the day after the battle, at Falkirk; but, as the rain fell in torrents during the greater part of that day, few of the officers quitted their lodgings. Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, the slain were interred by orders of the prince, and a considerable body of Highlanders marched to Linlithgow, of which they took possession. Charles now took the advice of his friends as to the use he should make of his victory. Some were for following up the blow which had been struck, and driving Hawley out of Scotland. Others were for marching directly to London before the enemy had time to recover from their consternation. They argued that it was not to be supposed that Hawley would again face the prince and his victorious army till he should receive new reinforcements; that even then the troops which had been beaten would communicate terror to the rest; and that the prince's army, flushed with victory, could never fight with greater advantage on their sides. There were others, however, who thought differently, and maintained that the capture of Stirling castle was the chief object at present; that it had never been before heard of that an army employed in a siege, having beaten

those that came to raise it, had made any other use of their victory than to take the fortress in the first place; that any other conduct would argue a great deal of levity; and that it was of the utmost importance to obtain possession of the castle, as it opened an easy and safe communication between the prince (wherever he might happen to be) and his friends in the north. This last view was supported by M. Mirabelle de Gordon, a French engineer of Scotch extraction, who gave the prince the strongest assurances that the castle would be forced to surrender in a few days, and added, moreover, that if the prince went immediately upon another expedition he would be obliged to sacrifice all his heavy artillery which he could not carry with him into England. The opinion of an individual, decorated with an order, and who was consequently considered a person of experience and talents, had great weight with the prince, who, accordingly, resolved to reduce the castle of Stirling before commencing any other operations; but Charles discovered, when too late, that Mirabelle's knowledge as an engineer was extremely limited, and that he had neither judgment to plan nor knowledge to direct the operations of a siege. This person, whose figure was as eccentric as his mind, was called, in derision, Mr. Admirable by the Highlanders.

During the prince's short stay at Falkirk, a misunderstanding took place between a party of the Camerons and Lord Kilmarnock, which had nearly proved fatal to that nobleman. As this incident affords a remarkable illustration of clanship, the particulars cannot fail to be interesting. Lord Kilmarnock, having passed the evening of the battle in his house at Callander, came next morning to Falkirk with a party of his men, who had in their custody some Edinburgh volunteers, who, having fallen behind Hawley's army in its march to

Linlithgow, had been taken and carried to Callander house. Leaving the prisoners and their guard standing in the street, opposite to the house where the prince lodged, his lordship went up-stairs and presented to him a list of the prisoners, among whom was Mr. Home, the author of the "Tragedy of Douglas" and the "History of the Rebellion." Charles opened the window to survey the prisoners, and while engaged in conversation with Lord Kilmarnock about them, as is supposed, with the paper in his hand, a soldier in the uniform of the Scots Royals, carrying a musket and wearing a black cockade, appeared in the street, and approached towards the prince. The volunteers who observed this man coming up the street were extremely surprised, and, thinking that his intention in coming forward was to shoot the prince, expected every moment to see him raise his piece and fire. Observing the volunteers, who were within a few yards of the prince, all looking in one direction, Charles also looked the same way, and seeing the soldier approach, appeared amazed, and, calling Lord Kilmarnock, pointed towards the soldier. His lordship instantly descended into the street, and finding the soldier immediately opposite to the window where Charles stood, the earl went up to him, and, striking the hat off the soldier's head, trampled the black cockade under his feet. At that instant a Highlander rushed from the opposite side of the street, and, laying hands on Lord Kilmarnock, pushed him violently back. Kilmarnock immediately pulled out a pistol, and presented it at the Highlander's head; and the Highlander in his turn drew his dirk, and held it close to the earl's breast. They stood in this position about half a minute, when a crowd of Highlanders rushed in and drove Lord Kilmarnock away. The man with the dirk in his hand then took up the hat, put it on the soldier's

head, and the Highlanders marched off with him in triumph.

This extraordinary scene surprised the prisoners, and they solicited an explanation from a Highland officer who stood near them. The officer told them that the soldier in the royal uniform was a Cameron. "Yesterday," continued he, "when your army was defeated he joined his clan; the Camerons received him with joy, and told him that he should wear his arms, his clothes, and everything else, till he was provided with other clothes and other arms. The Highlander who first interposed and drew his dirk on Lord Kilmarnock is the soldier's brother; the crowd who rushed in are the Camerons, many of them his near relations; and, in my opinion," continued the officer, "no colonel nor general in the prince's army can take that cockade out of his hat, except Lochiel himself."

An accident occurred about the same time, which had a most prejudicial effect in thinning the ranks of the Highland army. The Highlanders, pleased with the firearms they had picked up upon the field of battle, were frequently handling and discharging them. Afraid of accidents, the officers had issued orders prohibiting this abuse, but to no purpose. One of Keppoch's men had secured a musket which had been twice loaded. Not aware of this circumstance, he fired off the piece, after extracting one of the balls, in the direction of some officers who were standing together on the street of Falkirk. The other ball unfortunately entered the body of Æneas Macdonell, second son of Glengary, who commanded the Glengary regiment. He survived only a short time, and, satisfied of the innocence of the man that shot him, begged with his last breath that he might not suffer. To soothe the Glengary men, under their loss, the prince evinced by external acts that he partici-

THE MACAULAY

pated in their feelings, and, to show his respect for the memory of this brave and estimable youth, attended his funeral as chief mourner; but nothing the prince could do could prevent some of the men, who felt more acutely than others the loss of the representative of their chief, from returning to their homes.

On Sunday the nineteenth, the prince returned to Bannockburn, leaving Lord George Murray with the clans at Falkirk. At Bannockburn he issued, by means of a printing-press which he had carried with him from Glasgow, an account of the battle of Falkirk, a modest document when compared with that of Hawley, who gravely asserted that had it not been for the rain his army would have continued in his camp, " being masters of the field of battle!"

After the battle of Falkirk, the Duke of Perth again summoned the castle of Stirling to surrender, but the governor returned the same answer he had sent to the first message. The prince therefore resumed the siege on his return to his former headquarters, and fixed his troops in their previous cantonments. An able mathematician, named Grant, who had been employed many years with the celebrated Cassini, in the observatory at Paris, and who had conducted the siege of Carlisle, had at the commencement of the siege communicated to the prince a plan of attack, by opening trenches and establishing batteries in the churchyard. He had assured the prince that this was the only place where they could find a parallel almost on a level with the batteries of the castle; and that if a breach were effected in the half moon, which defended the entry to the castle, from a battery in the churchyard, the rubbish of the work would fill the ditch, and render an assault practicable through the breach. In consequence, however, of a remonstrance from the inhabitants, who stated that the

fire from the castle in the direction of the churchyard would reduce the greater part of the town to ashes, the prince abandoned this plan, and he consulted M. Mirabelle, with the view of ascertaining whether there was any other practicable mode of making an attack on the castle with effect. To borrow an expression of the Chevalier Johnstone, in reference to the conduct of Mirabelle on this occasion, that it is always the distinctive mark of ignorance to find nothing difficult, not even the things that are impossible, this eccentric person, without the least hesitation, immediately undertook to open the trenches on the Gowling or Gowan hill, a small eminence to the north of the castle, about forty feet below its level.

As there were not above fifteen inches depth of earth above the rock, it became necessary to supply the want of earth with bags of wool and earth, an operation which occupied several days. On breaking ground a fire was opened on the trenches from the castle, which was renewed from time to time during the progress of the works, and was answered from the trenches, but the fire from the castle was not sufficiently strong to hinder the operations, which, from the commanding position of the castle guns, could have been easily prevented. The design of General Blakeney, in thus allowing the besiegers to raise their works, was, it is understood, to create a belief among them, that the castle would not be tenable against their batteries, and by this impression to induce the Highland army to remain before the fortress till Hawley should be again in a sufficiently strong condition to advance from Edinburgh. Having completed the battery on the Gowan hill, which consisted of three pieces of cannon, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, they quickly raised another on a small rocky eminence called the Ladies hill, on the southeast of the

town. They were both unmasked on the morning of the twenty-ninth of February, and immediately opened with a brisk fire, which shattered two of the embrasures of the castle. As the guns of the batteries were pointed upwards the balls generally went over the castle, and the few that struck the walls produced little effect; but the case was totally different with the besieged, who, from their elevated situation, from which they could see even the shoe-buckles of the French artillery-men behind the batteries, poured down a destructive fire upon the besiegers from two batteries mounting together thirteen pieces, which dismounted their guns, broke their carriages, and forced the besiegers to retire with considerable loss. Thus defeated in their attack, the besiegers abandoned the siege after wasting three weeks in a fruitless attempt to obtain possession of a post which could have been of no essential service to them, and before which they lost some of their best men, chiefly among the French piquets, whom least of all they could spare.

CHAPTER IX

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND IN SCOTLAND

Unwilling any longer to entrust the management of the war to a general who had given such a signal proof of incapacity as Hawley had done, the government, immediately on receipt of his despatches, sent down the Duke of Cumberland to Scotland, to take the command of the army, and to retrieve if possible the lost reputation of the heroes of Dettingen and Fontenoy. The duke was beloved by the army, and enjoyed its confidence, circumstances which rendered him peculiarly fitted to supersede Hawley, who, after his return to Edinburgh with his army, had by his severities become unpopular with the soldiers. Another reason for putting the duke at the head of the army opposed to Prince Charles, was the favourable effect which, it was supposed, the appearance of a prince of the blood would have upon the minds of the people of Scotland, and which, it was expected, would neutralize the influence of his kinsman. But apart from his rank as the son of the king, Prince William had little to recommend him to the especial notice of a nation, rather fastidious in its respect for princes. His conduct while in Scotland showed that humanity, the brightest ornament which can adorn the soldier and hero, had no place in the catalogue of his virtues. With a cruelty which fortunately has few parallels among civilized nations, he pursued his unfortunate victims, the misguided but high-minded adherents of the fallen dynasty, with a relentless perseverance which disgusted

even his own partisans; but a bare recital of his enormities, which shall be given in their proper place, will be the best justification for the execration in which his memory is held by the Scottish nation.

Having received his instructions, the duke lost no time in preparing for his journey. He left London on the twenty-fifth of January, at one o'clock in the morning, attended by Lord Cathcart, Lord Bury, Colonels Conway and York his aides-de-camp, and arrived at Holyrood house on the thirtieth, at three o'clock in the morning. He went to bed about five o'clock, and after sleeping nearly three hours he rose and entered on business with Generals Hawley and Huske, and the rest of the principal officers, before eight o'clock in the morning. He was afterward waited upon by the state officers, the magistrates of the city, the professors of the university, and the clergy, all of whom were graciously received. His Royal Highness was presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box. In the afternoon he held a sort of drawing-room, which was attended by a considerable number of ladies very richly dressed. The most conspicuous among them was a Miss Ker, who wore a busk, at the top of which was a crown done in bugles, surrounded with this inscription, "Britain's Hero, William, Duke of Cumberland." To celebrate his arrival the city was illuminated in the evening, but although the Jacobites, from prudential motives, concurred in this demonstration, their windows were broken by the mob.

In the course of the day the duke inspected the army. His appearance revived the spirits of the troops, who, it is said, desired nothing so much as an opportunity of wiping away the disgrace of their late defeat. Such being the favourable disposition of the troops, it was resolved in a council of war held in the evening to march next morning to the relief of Stirling castle. Accordingly,

early in the morning the army, which, by late reinforcements, had been increased to fourteen battalions of foot and four regiments of dragoons, besides the Argyleshire men, left Edinburgh in two divisions, preceded by Hamilton's and Ligonier's dragoons. One of these divisions, comprising eight battalions, at the head of which the duke was to place himself, proceeded towards Linlithgow, and the other, consisting of six battalions under the command of Brigadier Mordaunt, marched in the direction of Borrowstowness. The duke himself left Holyrood house at nine o'clock in the morning, in presence of a large assemblage of citizens, who, from curiosity, had collected before the palace at an early hour to witness his departure. He entered a splendid coach, which, with twelve beautiful horses, had been presented to him by the Earl of Hopetoun, and was accompanied in his progress through the city by many persons of distinction, and by a crowd of citizens. On reaching Castlebarns, a place about a quarter of a mile from the West port, by which he left the city, the duke mounted his horse, and taking off his hat thanked the people for their attentions. He told them that he was in great haste to fulfil the object of his mission, and concluded by wishing them farewell. This short address was received with a loud huzza. The duke then took leave of the nobility and gentry who surrounded him, and at parting said, "Shall we not have one song?" He then began to sing an old Scotch song: —

> "Will ye play me fair?
> Highland laddie, Highland laddie."

But before he had finished the first stanza he stretched forth his hand, and putting spurs to his horse went off at full gallop to join the army.

The duke took up his quarters for the night at Linlithgow with the eight battalions, and Mordaunt stopped at Borrowstowness with the other division. The dragoons were quartered in the adjacent villages, and the Argyleshire men were posted in front towards the River Avon. Early next morning, the duke received intelligence that the main body of the Highland army, quartered at Falkirk, had retired to the Torwood, where they gave out they intended to make a stand. Determined that no time should be lost in following the insurgents, the duke, after reviewing his army in the morning, advanced towards Falkirk. Several parties of the Highlanders, who were seen hovering on the hills between Falkirk and Linlithgow, retired with precipitation on his approach; but some stragglers were brought in by his advanced scouts, who reported that the Highlanders, afraid to risk another battle, on account of the increase of the royal army, and the diminution of their own by desertion, were repassing the Forth in great confusion. Two great explosions, like the blowing up of magazines, which were heard from a distance, seemed to confirm this intelligence. On reaching Falkirk, the duke found that all the wounded soldiers who had been made prisoners in the late action, had been left behind by the insurgents in their retreat. His Royal Highness halted at Falkirk with the main body of his army, and immediately detached Brigadier Mordaunt with the Argyleshire men and all the dragoons, in pursuit of the Highlanders. The duke passed the night in the house which Charles had occupied on the evening of the late battle, and slept in the same bed on which the prince had reposed. Next morning Prince William marched to Stirling, of which Brigadier Mordaunt had taken possession the previous evening. He complimented General Blakeney on his defence of the

castle, and was informed by him that, had the siege continued much longer, he (Blakeney) must have surrendered for want of ammunition and provisions.

In his march the duke was accompanied by several officers of the English army, who had been taken prisoners at Preston, and who, under the pretence of being forcibly released by armed parties of country people in Angus and Fife, had broken their parole, and returned to Edinburgh. The Duke of Cumberland not only absolved these officers from their parole, but sent circulars to all the other officers, who continued prisoners of war, releasing them from the solemn obligation they had undertaken not to serve against Prince Charles for a certain time, requiring them to join their respective regiments, and threatening with the loss of their commissions such of them as should refuse to return immediately to the service. Such a command, if issued in the present day, would be scouted with indignation by the whole army; but, to the disgrace of the age, the duke's unprincipled mandate was obeyed. A few officers, however, had the virtuous courage to refuse compliance, and declared their sense of the insult offered to men of an honourable profession, by remarking that the duke was master of their commissions, but not of their probity and honour.

It was not without considerable reluctance that Charles had been induced to consent to a retreat. So late as the twenty-eighth of January, on which day he received information at Bannockburn that the Duke of Cumberland was expected at Edinburgh in a day or two, he had sent Secretary Murray to Falkirk to acquaint Lord George Murray, that it was his intention to advance and attack the Duke of Cumberland when he should reach Falkirk, and to request his lordship to remain there till the duke came to Linlithgow. Lord

George did not express any disapprobation of Charles's design, but immediately drew up a plan of the battle in contemplation, which he carried to Bannockburn, and showed to Charles. The prince, who was in high spirits, expressed himself much pleased with the plan, which differed in some respects from that he had sketched previous to the late battle; but, to his utter astonishment, he received a packet from Lord George Murray by an aide-de-camp, containing a representation by his lordship and all the chiefs, who were with him at Falkirk, advising a retreat to the north.

In this paper, after stating that they considered it their duty, "in this critical juncture," to lay their opinions in the most respectful manner before his Royal Highness, they proceeded to say, that they were certain that a vast number of his troops had gone home since the battle of Falkirk, and that, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the commanders of the different corps, they found that the evil was hourly increasing, and that they had it not in their power to prevent it; that as they were afraid Stirling castle could not be taken so soon as was expected, they could, from the inequality of their numbers to that of the enemy, anticipate nothing but utter destruction to the few troops that might remain behind, should the enemy advance before the castle fell into Prince Charles's hands. For these reasons, they gave it as their opinion, that the only way to extricate his Royal Highness, and those who remained with him, out of the imminent danger which threatened them, was to retire immediately to the Highlands, where the army could be usefully employed the remainder of the winter in taking the forts in the north; that they were morally certain they could keep as many men together as would answer that end, and would hinder the enemy from following them to the mountains

at that season of the year; and that, in spring, they had no doubt that an army of ten thousand effective Highlanders could be brought together, who would follow his Royal Highness wherever he might think proper; that such a plan would certainly disconcert his enemies, and could not but be approved of by his Royal Highness's friends both at home and abroad; and that if a landing should happen in the meantime, the Highlanders would immediately rise either to join the invaders, or to make a powerful diversion elsewhere; that on considering the hard marches which the army had undergone, the season of the year, and the inclemency of the weather, his Royal Highness, as well as his allies abroad and his adherents at home, could not fail to approve of the proposal; that the greatest objection to the retreat was the difficulty of saving the artillery, particularly the heavy cannon; but that it would be better that some of these were thrown into the Forth, than that his Royal Highness and the flower of his army should be exposed to the risk they inevitably would, should the proposed retreat not be agreed to, and put in execution without loss of time; and that they thought that it would be the greatest imprudence to risk the whole on so unequal a chance, when there were such hopes of succour from abroad, besides the resources his Royal Highness would have from his adherents at home. In conclusion, they informed the prince that they had just been apprised that numbers of their people had gone off, and that many were sick, and not in a condition to fight. They added, that nobody was privy to the address but the subscribers; and they assured his Royal Highness that it was with great concern and reluctance they found themselves obliged to declare their sentiments in so dangerous a situation, — a declaration which nothing could have prevailed upon them to make

but the unfortunate diminution of the army by desertion.

According to a statement made by John Hay, who occasionally acted as secretary to the prince, Charles was so transported with rage, after reading this paper, that he struck his head against the wall of the room till he staggered, and exclaimed most violently against Lord George Murray. To dissuade the subscribers from their resolution, Charles sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to Falkirk, who, not succeeding in his mission, returned to Bannockburn, accompanied by Keppoch and several other chiefs. These argued the matter with Charles himself, and ultimately prevailed upon him to consent to a retreat. This retreat was condemned by some of the prince's flatterers; but the simple fact, stated by Patullo the muster-master of the prince's army, that, before the retreat, the army had been diminished by desertion to five thousand men, fully justifies the advice given by Lord George Murray and the chiefs at Falkirk. Even Sir Thomas Sheridan, the especial favourite of the prince, admitted the necessity of the retreat, for reasons apart from the reduction of the army.

In order to make the retreat with as little loss as possible, horses and carriages were ordered in from all quarters, under the pretext of carrying the field artillery and ammunition towards Edinburgh, whither it was given out that the army was to march immediately. The army, however, began to suspect the design, and every person, not in the secret, looked dejected. During the thirtieth, a great deal of bustle took place in the country in collecting horses and carriages, but with little effect, as the country people, who also began to conjecture that a retreat was intended, were not disposed to attend to the order. At length the design of these preparations became apparent when, in consequence

of a previous arrangement, Lord George Murray left Falkirk with the clans on the evening of the thirty-first for Bannockburn, leaving behind him Elcho's, Pitsligo's, and Kilmarnock's horse, who were directed to patrole betwixt Falkirk and Linlithgow till ten o'clock that night. Lord George continued at the prince's quarters till after twelve o'clock at night, when it was agreed that the army should rendezvous at nine o'clock next morning, near St. Ninians; and a message was directed to be sent to the Duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond, both of whom were at Stirling, to be ready to march between nine and ten o'clock, but not to evacuate the town without further orders. After Lord George, however, had left the prince's quarters for his own at Easter Green-yards, these orders were countermanded without his knowledge, and orders were sent to Stirling to evacuate it by break of day.

The appointed rendezvous at St. Ninians never took place, and for this reason, that the private men imagining when they first heard of the retreat that the danger was much greater and nearer than it really was, had begun at daybreak to take the road to the Frews. Before the hour appointed for assembling, many of them had arrived at that ford, so that when Charles left his quarters for St. Ninians, scarcely a vestige of his army was to be seen. Officers were sent after some parties, who were still visible, for the purpose of stopping them, but without effect. The troops in Stirling, in terms of the orders they had received, after spiking their cannon, also marched to the Frews, so that the prince and Lord George Murray found themselves almost deserted. Charles finding it impossible to recall his troops, marched off with some of the chiefs and the few troops that remained with him.

On the morning of the retreat the church of St.

Ninians, in which the insurgents had fifty barrels of gunpowder, blew up with a terrible explosion, which was heard by the Duke of Cumberland's army at Linlithgow. Whether it happened from accident or design is a point which cannot be ascertained. If from design, it must have been the act of some unknown individual, as there was no warning given to any person to keep out of the way. That it could not have been perpetrated by any person in the prince's interest seems very evident from the fact that Charles himself was near enough to have suffered injury, and that some of the Highlanders, as well as several of the inhabitants of the village, were killed. Yet, such was the spirit of misrepresentation which prevailed at the time, that, without the least assignable motive, the odium of the act was thrown upon Charles.

When this explosion took place, Lord George Murray was still at his headquarters. He thought the castle-guns had fired a volley; and on repairing to the town about an hour after the explosion, he was utterly amazed to find that the besiegers had disappeared. He, therefore, sent an aide-de-camp to call off some horse he had posted near Falkirk, and proceeded immediately, with the few troops that remained with him, to the Frews.

The Highland army was quartered that night at Doune, Dumblane, and adjacent villages, and continued to retire next day, the second of February, in a very disorderly manner. The prince halted at Crieff, where he reviewed his army, and, according to the statement of one of his officers, his army was found not to have lost above a thousand men by desertion. Charles, who had consented to a retreat on the supposition that his army had lost a third of its numbers from this cause, is said to have been deeply affected on this occasion.

Lord George Murray's enemies did not slip the opportunity of reproaching him, and, indeed, all the chiefs who had signed the representation, with deception; but the author in question observes, that their mistake, if there really was a mistake, can be easily accounted for, if people will divest themselves of prejudice, and examine the circumstances impartially. He observes, that, from the battle of Falkirk up to the time of the Duke of Cumberland's march from Edinburgh, the country being absolutely secure, the Highlanders had indulged their restless disposition by roaming about all the villages in the neighbourhood of their quarters, and that numbers of them were absent several days from their colours; that their principal officers, knowing for certain that some had gone home, imagined that such was also the case with all who were not to be found in their respective quarters, but that all the stragglers had got to Crieff and appeared at the review. Without questioning such a respectable authority as Mr. Maxwell, who may be right in the main fact, as to the number of the army at Crieff, it seems more likely that the army had recruited its ranks on the retreat to Crieff, by overtaking the deserters on their homeward route, than that two or three thousand men should have been absent on a sojourn in the neighbourhood of their camp.

After the review, the prince held a council of war, to deliberate upon the course to be pursued. At no former meeting did heats and party animosities break out to such an extent as at this council. Lord George Murray complained greatly of the flight, and requested to know the names of the persons who had advised it; but the prince put an end to this branch of the conversation by taking the whole blame on himself. After a great deal of wrangling and altercation, it was deter-

mined that the army should march north to Inverness in two divisions; that the horse and low country regiments should proceed along the coast road, and that the prince, at the head of the clans, should take the Highland road. Lord George, after other officers had refused, agreed to take the command of the coast division, which arrived at Perth late that night. The prince remained at Crieff, and passed the night at Fairnton, a seat of Lord John Drummond, in the neighbourhood. Next day, being the fourth, Charles marched from Crieff to Dunkeld, and thence to Blair in Athole, where he remained several days, till he heard of the arrival of the other division at Aberdeen.

It would have been quite impossible, under almost any circumstances, for the Duke of Cumberland's army to have overtaken the Highlanders; but slow as the movements of such an army necessarily were, it met with an obstruction which retarded its progress nearly three days. This was the impassable state of Stirling bridge, one arch of which had, as formerly mentioned, been broken down by General Blakeney to embarrass the intercourse between the Highland army when in the south, and its auxiliaries in the north. It was not till the morning of the fourth of February that the bridge was repaired, on which day the English army passed over. The advanced guard, consisting of the Argyleshire Highlanders and the dragoons, went on to Crieff, and the foot were quartered in and about Dumblane, where the duke passed the night. Next day he proceeded to Crieff, and on the sixth arrived at Perth, of which his advanced guard had taken possession the previous day.

Lord George Murray marched from Perth for Aberdeen with his division on the fourth. He left behind thirteen pieces of cannon, which were spiked and thrown

into the Tay, a great quantity of cannon balls, and fourteen swivel guns, which formerly belonged to the Hazard sloop-of-war, which had been surprised and taken at Montrose by the Highlanders. These pieces were taken out of the river next day by the royal troops.

Having learned at Perth the different routes taken by the Highland army, and that it had gained two or three days' march in advance, the Duke of Cumberland resolved to halt a few days to refresh his men. From Perth parties were sent out to perambulate the neighbouring country, who plundered the lands and carried off the effects of the prince's adherents. The Duchess Dowager of Perth and the Viscountess of Strathallan were apprehended, carried to Edinburgh, and committed to the castle.

Shortly after his arrival at Perth, the Duke of Cumberland received an express announcing the arrival in the Frith of Forth of a force of about five thousand Hessians, under the command of the Prince of Hesse, son-in-law of George the Second. These auxiliaries had been brought over from the continent to supply the place of the Dutch troops, who had been recalled by the states-general in consequence of the interference of the French government, which considered the treaty entered into between the King of Great Britain and Holland, by which the latter agreed to furnish these troops to suppress the rebellion, as a violation of the capitulations of Tournay and Dendermonde.

The fleet which conveyed the Hessian troops anchored in Leith roads on the eighth of February, having been only four days from Williamstadt. The Prince of Hesse, accompanied by the Earl of Crawford, a son of the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, and other persons of distinction, who had attended him in the expedition, landed that night at Leith, and proceeded to Holyrood house. His Serene

Highness was saluted on his arrival in the roads by the ships of war lying there, and afterward by a round from the great guns of Edinburgh castle. The troops were disembarked at Leith on the ninth and the following day, and were cantoned in and about Edinburgh. On the fifteenth of February the Duke of Cumberland paid a visit to the Prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, at Edinburgh. On that evening they held a council of war in Milton house, the residence of the lord-justice-clerk. In consequence of the sudden and disorderly retreat of the Highlanders, an opinion had begun to prevail among the friends of the government at Edinburgh, that it was the intention of the insurgents to disperse themselves, and that Charles would follow the example set by his father in 1716, by leaving the kingdom. Impressed with this idea, the general who attended the council gave it as their unanimous opinion that the war was at an end, and that the duke had nothing now to do but to give orders to his officers to march into the Highlands, as soon as the season would permit, and ferret the insurgents out of their strongholds, as it appeared evident to them that they would never risk a battle with an army commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. After the officers had delivered their sentiments, the duke requested Lord Milton to give his opinion, as he knew the Highlands and Highlanders better than any person present. His lordship at first declined doing so, as he was not a military man, but being pressed by the duke, he began by expressing a hope that he might be mistaken in the opinion he was about to give, but he felt himself bound to declare, from all he knew of the Highlands and Highlanders, that the war was not at an end, and that as the king's troops could not follow the Highlanders among their fastnesses in the winter season, they would, though now divided

and scattered, unite again, and venture another battle before giving up the war. Acquiescing in the views of Lord Milton, whose opinion turned out correct, the duke returned to Perth next day to put his army in motion towards the north.

Meanwhile, the Highland army was proceeding in its march to Inverness. After remaining a few days at Blair in Athole, Charles marched to Ruthven in Badenoch, the barrack of which was taken and blown up by a party under Gordon of Glenbucket, who made the small garrison prisoners. He reached Moy castle, a seat of the laird of Mackintosh, about ten miles from Inverness, on the sixteenth of February, with an advanced guard of about fifty men. As Charles's forces were widely scattered, he resolved to halt at Moy till he should concentrate a force sufficient to attack the Earl of Loudon, who was posted at Inverness with two thousand men.

Hearing of Charles's arrival at Moy castle, and that he had not above five or six hundred men with him, Lord Loudon formed a design to seize him during the night while off his guard. The better to conceal his project, his lordship, at three o'clock in the afternoon, completely invested Inverness on all sides, posting guards and a chain of sentinels round the town, with positive orders not to suffer any person to leave it on any pretext whatever. He ordered, at the same time, fifteen hundred men to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning; and, having assembled them without noise, he put himself at their head, and instantly set off, planning his march so as he might arrive at the castle of Moy about eleven o'clock at night.

Notwithstanding the secrecy, however, with which Lord Loudon concocted his scheme, the plan was divulged by the imprudence or perfidy of some persons

entrusted with the secret. According to one account (for there are several), the design was communicated to Lady Mackintosh, a zealous Jacobite, by Fraser of Gorthleck, in a letter which he sent to her, and in another letter which she received at the same time from her mother, who, though a Whig, felt a repugnance to allow Charles to be made a prisoner in her daughter's house, in which he had taken up his residence as a guest. Another account is, that while some English officers were drinking in a tavern in Inverness, waiting the hour of their departure, a girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age, who happened to wait on them, paid great attention to their conversation, and, from certain expressions dropped by them, discovered their design; that she immediately left the house, escaped from the town, notwithstanding the vigilance of the sentinels, and immediately took the road to Moy, running as fast as she was able, without shoes or stockings, which, to accelerate her progress, she had taken off; and that on arriving she informed Lady Mackintosh of the design against the prince. A recent publication, however, has furnished a third version of this affair, which appears to be more correct in the details. It is there stated that Lady Mackintosh's mother, who lived in Inverness, having received notice of Lord Loudon's design, despatched a boy, about fifteen years of age, named Lauchlan Mackintosh, to Moy, to apprise the prince thereof; that the boy, finding he could not pass by Lord Loudon's men without running the risk of being discovered, concealed himself behind a wall till they had passed, when, taking a different road, he reached Moy and gave the alarm. The prince, who was in bed, was instantly awakened, and, jumping out of bed, put on his clothes, left the house with a guard of about thirty men, and disappeared in a neighbouring wood.

As soon as Lady Mackintosh was informed of Lord Loudon's design, she sent five or six of her people, headed by a country blacksmith, named Fraser, to watch the advance of Loudon's troops. This man, with a boldness almost incredible, formed the extraordinary design of surprising the advancing party, in the expectation that they would fall a prey to a panic. With this view, he posted his men on both sides of the road to Inverness, about three miles from Moy, and enjoined them not to fire till he should give directions, and then not to fire together, but one after the other, in the order he pointed out. After waiting for some time, the party was apprised of the advance of Lord Loudon's troops by the noise they made in marching. When the head of the detachment, which consisted of seventy men under the laird of Macleod, was within hearing, the blacksmith called out with a loud voice: "Here come the villains who intend carrying off our prince; fire, my lads; do not spare them; give them no quarter." He thereupon discharged his piece in the direction of the detachment, and his party, after following his example, ran in different directions, calling upon the Macdonalds and Camerons to advance on the right and left, and repeating aloud the names of Lochiel and Keppoch. Impressed with the belief that the whole Highland army was at hand, the advanced guard instantly turned its back, and communicating its fears to the rear, a scene of indescribable confusion ensued. The *sauve-qui-peut*, which burst forth from the discomfited legions of Napoleon on the plains of Waterloo, was not more appalling to the flying French than were the names of the Camerons and Macdonalds to the ears of Lord Loudon's troops on the present occasion. In the hurry of their flight many were thrown down and trod upon, and so great was the panic with which the fugitives were seized, that

the flight continued till they got near Inverness. The master of Ross, who accompanied the party, and was one of those who was overwhelmed, observed to Mr. Home that he had been in many perils, but had never found himself in such a grievous condition as that in which he was at the rout of Moy. In this affair the laird of Macleod's piper, reputed the best in Scotland, was shot dead on the spot. On the dispersion of Lord Loudon's party, Charles returned to the castle.

Having assembled his men next morning, Charles advanced upon Inverness with the intention of attacking Lord Loudon, and taking revenge for the attempt of the preceding night; but his lordship, not feeling inclined to wait for the prince, retired into Ross-shire, by crossing the Moray Frith at the ferry of Kessock. Charles took immediate possession of Inverness, and laid siege to the castle then named Fort George. This structure, which was situated on a hill to the southwest of Cromwell's fort, had been raised at the Revolution; and had cost the government, since its erection, above £50,000. The castle was fortified in the modern manner, being a regular square with four bastions, and it commanded the town and the bridge over the river Ness.

This fortress had a garrison of eighty regular troops; but, on his departure from Inverness, Lord Loudon threw into it two of the independent companies, one of Grants, and the other of Macleods. The castle on the present occasion mounted sixteen pieces of cannon, and was well provided with ammunition and provisions. The prince summoned the fortress to surrender, but Grant of Rothiemurcus, the governor, refused to comply. Though Charles had left his heavy artillery behind, he found no difficulty in reducing this fort, as the little hill on which it was built was so contiguous to the town that it could be easily approached on that side,

without exposure to its fire. It was resolved to undermine the castle and blow it up; but, after a siege of two days, and when the mine had been completed, the garrison surrendered. This event took place on the twentieth of February. The prince, however, did not spare the fortress, which he blew up immediately after the surrender; but a sergeant in the French artillery, who was charged with the operation, lost his life on the occasion. Imagining that the match was extinguished, he approached to examine it, and was blown into the air, with the stones of the bastion, to an immense height by the explosion.

On the same day that Charles arrived at Moy, the division under Lord George Murray had reached Spey side; and the day before Fort George surrendered he had arrived with his men in the neighbourhood of Inverness. In consequence of a great fall of snow, which took place on the day Lord George marched from Aberdeen, his march had been most fatiguing; and the French piquets and Lord John Drummond's regiment were obliged to halt a day at Kintore and Inverury. After giving the prince an account of his march, Lord George, contemplating the possibility of a retreat to the Highlands, mentioned a plan, devised by him and Lord Pitsligo, to assess the shires of Banff, Moray, and Nairn in five thousand bolls of meal, for the use of the army; and he proposed that the greater part of it should be sent to the Highlands for subsistence, in case of retreat thither. The prince approved of the plan; but directed that the whole of the meal, when collected, should be brought to Inverness.

With the exception of two detachments, which took possession of Blair and Castle Menzies, the army of the Duke of Cumberland lay inactive at Perth till the twentieth of February, on which day he put his army

in motion for the north, in four divisions. He sent notice to the Prince of Hesse to march to Perth, and in his way to leave two battalions at Stirling. At the same time he directed the remains of Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons to be cantoned at Bannockburn, and St. George's dragoons to be posted at the bridge of Earn. With the assistance of these cavalry regiments, which were placed under the command of the Earl of Crawford, it was thought that the Prince of Hesse would be able to check the insurgents, and prevent their progress south, should they give the duke the slip. In marching north, the duke's army took the road along the coast, as Lord George Murray had done. On the twenty-seventh of February the army arrived at Aberdeen, where the duke took up his quarters, till the advance of spring should enable him to take the field. A few days before his arrival, a vessel from France had landed at Aberdeen three troops of Fitz-James's horse, with five officers, and a piquet of Berwick's regiment. These troops, with a small party of men under Moir of Stonywood, left Aberdeen on the approach of the duke.

Compelled by circumstances to abandon, within the short space of three weeks, the whole tract of low country from the Avon to the Don, on which he chiefly relied for the subsistence of his army; followed by a large army with powerful resources in its rear, which it could render speedily available; and narrowly watched by the forces under Lord Loudon, the situation of Charles now became very critical. The fertile province of Moray and part of the adjacent territory had, by the expulsion of Lord Loudon from Inverness, no doubt come into his possession; but he could not expect to maintain his ground in this district for any length of time without a precarious struggle. He had it in his power, whenever he pleased, to retire into the neighbouring Highlands,

where his pursuers would scarcely venture to follow him; but, without previously securing a supply of provisions from the low country, he could not keep his army together in a district where the means of subsistence were extremely scanty. The possibility of such a retreat was contemplated by Lord George Murray; but, from aversion to such a design, or from want of foresight, Charles, as just stated, overruled his lordship's proposal to send a supply of provisions to the Highlands.

Judging from the slowness of the Duke of Cumberland's motions, that a considerable time would elapse before he would venture to cross the Spey, Charles resolved to employ the interval in carrying through a series of operations which he and his friends projected. The principal of these were the reduction of Fort Augustus and Fort William, and the dispersion of Lord Loudon's army. To secure subsistence for his army, he cantoned the greater part of the division which had marched by Aberdeen between that town and Inverness; and, as after the retreat from Stirling he had directed any supplies that might be sent him from France to be landed to the north of Aberdeen, he occupied all the little towns along that coast. As this district was generally disaffected to the government, it was an easy matter to guard it with the few troops that were dispersed over it; and no danger was to be apprehended till the English army came up, when the different parties were directed to fall back from post to post as the duke advanced.

The first enterprise that Charles undertook, after capturing Fort George, was the siege of Fort Augustus. To reduce this fortress, and with the ulterior view of laying siege to Fort William, Brigadier Stapleton was sent into Stratherrick with the French piquets and a

detachment of Lord John Drummond's regiment, and appeared before Fort Augustus about the end of February. Without waiting for his artillery, which consisted of a few pieces found at Fort George, he attacked the old barrack and carried it immediately, the garrison retiring to the fort. Mr. Grant, who had succeeded M. Mirabelle as chief engineer, since the siege of Stirling, opened a trench upon the third of March. The garrison held out two days, when, in consequence of the explosion of the powder magazine by the falling of a shell, the fortress surrendered, and the garrison, which consisted of three companies of Guise's regiment, were made prisoners of war. Leaving Lord Lewis Gordon with a few troops in command of the place, the brigadier marched to Fort William, which he invested on the land side.

Pursuant to his plan of operations, the prince, in the beginning of March, sent Lord Cromarty with a detachment, consisting of his own regiment, the Mackintoshes, Macgregors, and Barrisdale's men, to drive the forces under Lord Loudon out of Ross-shire. Finding that his lordship was unable to accomplish the task which had been assigned him, Charles despatched Lord George Murray to his assistance with the Macdonalds of Clanranald and a battalion of Lochiel's regiment. He reached Dingwall the first night, where he found Lord Cromarty's detachment; but his lordship had been absent two days at his own house with a strong guard of Mackenzies. Lord George marched next day for Tain, where he understood Lord Loudon was posted; but on the road he learned that his lordship had crossed the Dornoch Frith to Sutherland, and had quartered his troops in the town of Dornoch and the neighbourhood. Not having any boats to carry his men across the frith, his lordship, after consulting his officers, returned to Dingwall, where he quartered his men. The reason

of retiring a day's march farther back was to throw Lord Loudon off his guard, as it was contemplated to bring boats along the coast and attempt the passage. There was nothing to prevent the detachment marching round the head of the frith; but Lord Loudon having a sufficiency of boats, might have eluded his pursuers by recrossing to Tain; and, as Lord George would, by such a course, have been several days' march from Inverness, the main body of the Highland army would have been in a critical situation, if the Duke of Cumberland's army had reached the neighbourhood of Inverness, while the corps under Lord George Murray was on the north side of the Frith of Dornoch. After sending notice to Lord Cromarty of the disposition of his forces, and that the Duke of Perth would take the command, Lord George returned to Inverness the following day, to execute a design he and Macpherson of Cluny had concerted, to surprise the castle of Blair, and to beat up the quarters of the government troops in Athole, who, from information he had received, had committed great excesses in that district.

To carry the enterprise against Lord Loudon into execution, all the fishing boats that could be collected on the coast of Moray were brought to Findhorn. A few gentlemen, to whom the charge of collecting this small flotilla had been entrusted, had conducted the matter with such secrecy and expedition, that no person in the government interest was aware of it; but after the boats were all in readiness, a difficulty presented itself in getting them across the Moray frith without being perceived by the English cruisers that were continually passing along the coast. Moir of Stonywood, however, undertook to convey the boats to Tain, and he accordingly set out one night with this little fleet, and arrived at his destination next morning without being

observed by the enemy. On the flotilla reaching Tain, the Duke of Perth divided his force into two parts; and while, with one of them, he marched about by the head of the frith, he directed the other to cross in the boats. Under cover of a thick fog this division landed without being discovered, and the duke, having united his forces on the north side of the Frith, advanced upon Dornoch. When near that town, he came up with a party of two hundred men, who were on their march to join Lord Loudon. This party instantly fled; but Major Mackenzie, who commanded it, with four or five officers, and sixty privates, were made prisoners. Among the officers was a son of Mr. Macdonald of Scothouse, who was taken prisoner by his own father. The main body, under Lord Loudon, abandoned Dornoch in great consternation, and fled north towards Glenmore, pursued by the Jacobite forces. Both parties marched all night; but the fugitives kept ahead of their pursuers. After a chase of about thirty miles, the Duke of Perth discontinued the pursuit, and halted at the head of Loch Shin. While following the enemy during the night, great anxiety prevailed among the Macdonalds in the Duke of Perth's detachment, lest, in the event of an engagement, they might not be able, notwithstanding their white cockades, to distinguish themselves from the Macdonalds of Skye, who, like the other Macdonalds, wore heather in their bonnets. Upon reaching the head of Sutherlandshire, Lord Loudon separated his army. Accompanied by the lord-president and the laird of Macleod, he marched to the sea-coast with eight hundred of the Macdonalds and Macleods, and embarked for the isle of Skye. Part of his own regiment, with several officers, took refuge in Lord Reay's country. Finding that Lord Loudon's troops had dispersed, the Duke of Perth returned to Inverness, leaving Lord Cromarty in

Sutherland with a sufficient force to keep Lord Sutherland and Lord Reay's people in check. The dispersion of Lord Loudon's army was considered of such importance by Charles, that he immediately despatched an officer to France with the intelligence. In this expedition, several vessels in the Frith of Dornach, having some valuable effects on board, fell into the hands of the insurgents.

Before Lord George Murray set out on his expedition into Athole, Macpherson of Cluny had secured the passes between that country and Badenoch, to prevent all communication between these districts. About the middle of March Lord George left Inverness with four hundred men of the Athole brigade; and, on entering Badenoch, he was joined by Cluny with three hundred Macphersons. On the sixteenth of March the whole detachment set out from Dalwhinnie in the dusk of the evening, and did not halt till they reached a place called Dalnaspedal, or Dalspeddel, about the middle of Drummochter, where the body was divided into a number of small parties, in each of which the Athole men and the Macphersons were proportionally mixed.

Hitherto, with the exception of Macpherson of Cluny and Lord George, no person in the expedition knew either its destination or object. The time was now come for Lord George to explain his design, which he said was to surprise and attack before daylight, and as nearly as possible at the same time, all the posts in Athole occupied by the royal forces. As an encouragement, he offered a reward of a guinea to every man who should surprise a sentinel at his post. There were about thirty posts in all, including the different houses at which the royal troops were quartered; but the principal posts, more especially selected for attack, were Bun-Rannoch; the house of Keynnachin; the house of Blairfettie;

the house of Lude; the house of Faskally, and the inn at Blair, where, as Lord George Murray was informed, several officers of the twenty-first regiment were quartered. After the different parties had discharged their duty by attacking the posts assigned them, they were ordered to meet at the bridge of Bruar, about two miles north from Blair, as the general rendezvous for the detachment.

Having received their instructions, the different parties set out immediately; and so well was the scheme of attack laid, that betwixt three and five o'clock in the morning, the whole posts, though many miles distant from one another, were carried. At Bun-Rannoch, where there was a late-wake held that night, the sentinel was surprised, and the whole of the party (Argyleshire men), while engaged in that festivity, were taken prisoners, without a shot being fired on either side. The sentinel at Keynnachin, being more upon his guard, discharged his piece and alarmed his friends, who defended themselves for a short time by firing from the windows, till the party broke into the house, and killing one man, made prisoners of the rest. At Blairfettie, where there were fifty Argyleshire men stationed, the sentinel was surprised, and the party, with the proprietor of the mansion at their head, entered the house before the soldiers within knew that they were attacked. They endeavoured to defend themselves, but were obliged to surrender. Lady Blairfettie was in bed at the time, and knew nothing of the affair, till informed by a servant that her husband was below, and wished to see her immediately. On coming down-stairs she found the garrison disarmed, the prisoners in the dining-room, and about a dozen of her husband's tenants and servants standing over them with drawn swords. Blairfettie, thinking that his wife had been harshly treated, desired

her to point out any of the prisoners who had used her ill; but she answered that she had no other complaint to make than this, that the prisoners had eaten all her provisions, and that she and her children were starving. The parties at Faskally, at Lude, and the bridge of Tilt, were also taken; but that in the inn of Blair, after some resistance, escaped to the castle. Three hundred prisoners were taken by Lord George's parties, without the loss of a single man. While beating up the different posts, a party, by order of Lord George, secured the pass of Killiecrankie.

Having been apprised, by the arrival of the party from the inn of Blair, of the presence of the enemy, Sir Andrew Agnew, who held the castle of Blair, instantly got his men under arms, and left the castle to ascertain who they were that had attacked his posts. Information of this circumstance was brought about daybreak by an inhabitant of the village to Lord George Murray, who was then at the bridge of Bruar with a party of twenty-five men only and a few elderly gentlemen, waiting for the different parties he had despatched the previous night. This intelligence was of the utmost importance to Lord George and his party, all of whom would otherwise have probably fallen into the hands of the garrison. Lord George immediately consulted the gentlemen around him as to the course they should pursue. Some advised an immediate retreat in the direction of Dalwhinnie, but others were for crossing the nearest hills, and retiring by roads along which it would be difficult for the garrison to follow them. His lordship, however, was opposed to both opinions, as by quitting his post he was afraid that his different parties, as they came to the appointed place of rendezvous, would be surprised, and made prisoners. While pondering how to extricate himself from the dilemma in which

he was placed, he espied a long unfinished turf-wall which ran across a field near the bridge. An idea at once occurred to him, that by disposing the few men that were with him behind this wall at a considerable distance from one another, and by displaying the colours of both regiments in front, he might deceive Sir Andrew Agnew's detachment, by inducing them to believe that they were to be opposed by a large body of men. Having disposed his small party in the way described, Lord George directed the pipers (for luckily he had with him the whole pipers of his detachment) to keep their eyes fixed upon the road to Blair, and the moment they saw any military appear in that direction, to strike up at once with all their bagpipes. Just as the sun was rising above the horizon, Sir Andrew Agnew's men appeared, and their ears were instantly saluted by the noise of the bagpipes, when the pipers commenced playing one of their most noisy pibrochs. The party behind the wall then drew their swords, and, as they had been previously ordered by Lord George, kept brandishing them above their heads. This ruse succeeded completely, and Sir Andrew, alarmed by the noise and the spectacle before him, at which he took only a short glance, ordered his men to the right about, and retired into the castle.

Being now relieved from all apprehension of attack, Lord George remained at his post till joined by about three hundred of his men, when he marched to Blair, and invested the castle. Having no battering-cannon, and only two small field-pieces, which could make no impression on walls that were seven feet thick, he resolved to blockade the castle, which he expected would be forced to surrender in two or three weeks for want of provisions. To cut off the communication between the castle and the neighbouring country, Lord George placed a guard of three hundred men at the village of

Blair, where he was himself stationed, and another near the Mains, at some stables which had been recently erected. Being joined by four or five hundred men belonging to the district, who had been formerly in the Highland army, Lord George detached a party to Dunkeld, where they remained till the approach of the Hessians from Perth. This party then retreated to Pitlochrie, two miles below the pass of Killiecrankie, where they remained several days, during which time repeated skirmishes took place between them and the hussars, and some of St. George's dragoons. During the time the Athole men kept possession of Pitlochrie, Lord George Murray went there generally twice every day to ascertain the state of matters. The Hessians showed no disposition to leave Dunkeld, where they had taken up their quarters, till the thirteenth of March, on which day a large body of them came up as far as the Haugh of Dalskean, about two miles from Pitlochrie. The dragoons and hussars continuing to advance, the Athole men retired to the foot of the pass of Killiecrankie, where they halted to dispute the passage; but after remaining six hours waiting for the Hessians, they were informed that a great part of them had returned to Dunkeld.

At this time the garrison of Blair castle was reduced to great distress from the want of provisions, and if the blockade had been continued a few days longer they must have surrendered; but, fortunately for the besieged, Lord George Murray was ordered to return immediately to Inverness, in consequence of the expected advance of the Duke of Cumberland. Accordingly, on the thirty-first of March, Lord George sent off his two pieces of cannon, that he might not be impeded in his march, and about ten o'clock at night he drew off the party from the pass to Blair, whence he took his

departure from Inverness, at two o'clock next morning. Finding the pass clear, Lord Crawford went through it the same morning, but the Hessians, alarmed at the dreadful aspect which it presented, positively refused to enter the pass. As, from the expresses which Lord George Murray received, he was led to infer that the Duke of Cumberland was about to leave Aberdeen, his lordship made a most rapid march, having performed the journey in seventy hours, four only of which he devoted to sleep. Cluny's men were left at Ruthven, to guard Badenoch from the incursions of the royal troops in Athole.

To facilitate his march to the north, and to clear as much of the low country as possible from the presence of the insurgents, the Duke of Cumberland sent several detachments from Aberdeen, to scour the country, and possess themselves of certain posts between the Don and the Spey. One of these detachments, consisting of four battalions of infantry, the Duke of Kingston's horse, and Cobham's dragoons, under the command of General Bland, left Aberdeen on the twelfth of March, and took possession of Old Meldrum, Inverury, and Old Rain. Bland was preceded on his march by the Argyleshire men, and a hundred of the laird of Grant's followers under the eldest son of that chief. At this time the insurgent forces on the east of the river Spey, which had been placed under the command of Lord John Drummond, were stationed as follows: Lord Strathallan's horse, which had been lately separated from Lord Kilmarnock's, and the hussars, occupied Cullen; part of the battalions of Roy Stewart and Gordon of Avochy, consisting of about four hundred men, with fifty horse, were quartered at Strathbogie, and the remainder were cantoned in Fochabers, and the villages along the Spey.

Having received intelligence of the occupation of Strathbogie by the Highlanders, the Duke of Cumberland sent orders on the sixteenth to General Bland to march thither with all the troops under his command, and endeavour to surprise the forces there assembled, and failing in that design, to attack them and drive them across the river. To sustain General Bland, should occasion require, Brigadier Mordaunt marched by break of day next morning to Old Meldrum, with four battalions and four pieces of cannon. About the same time General Bland left Old Meldrum for Strathbogie, and almost succeeded in surprising the insurgents, who were ignorant of his approach till he came near the place. At the time the news of General Bland's march reached Strathbogie some of the Highlanders were absent, having been sent the preceding night for the purpose of intercepting the young laird of Grant, who was returning to his own country with a commission to raise a regiment out of his clan, and who was to pass within a few miles of Strathbogie. The party, however, did not succeed, as Mr. Grant got the start of them, and took up his quarters for the night in a strong castle belonging to Lord Forbes, which they found it impossible to force without artillery. This party returned to Strathbogie about one o'clock in the afternoon, greatly fatigued from want of rest, and found that intelligence had been received of Bland's advance. This news was fully confirmed by the arrival of some scouts, who came back at full speed with information that a large body of horse and foot was at hand.

Alarmed at the unexpected approach of the enemy, the officers at Strathbogie were at first at a loss how to act. There was danger in retreat as well as in attempting to remain. It was impossible that the men, who were in want of sleep and refreshment, could march far without

halting; and as they had left several stragglers behind, it appeared certain that, in the event of a retreat, these would be picked up by Bland's cavalry. On the other hand, from the vast numerical superiority of the English forces, it was dreaded that the small party would not be able to make an effectual resistance, and that in the event of a defeat the whole would easily fall into the enemy's hands. In this dilemma it was resolved to remain an hour at Strathbogie, to give time to the stragglers to come up, and then to retreat. At this time the van of Bland's detachment had begun to appear, and before the hour had elapsed the whole was in sight, and the van within a quarter of a mile of the village. The small party of guards then marched out towards the enemy, and while they formed between the village and the bridge of Bogie, as if intending to dispute the passage of the bridge, the foot left the village. After they had cleared the village, and the enemy's cavalry had begun to file along the bridge, the small body of horse retired after the foot, towards the river Deveron, which they crossed. They thereupon formed again on the other side of the river to stop the enemy's horse, who had pursued them at full speed from Strathbogie to the river side, but they did not at first attempt the passage, a circumstance which enabled the foot to gain the adjoining hill without molestation, and where, from the narrowness of the road and the rockiness of the ground on each side of it, they were perfectly safe from the attacks of cavalry. With the exception of some volunteers among the cavalry, who followed half-way up the hill, and skirmished with a few of the guards who were left behind to observe their motions, the rest of the cavalry gave over the pursuit. The Highlanders, however, did not halt till they reached Fochabers. Next day they crossed the Spey, along with

the other troops which had been cantoned on the east side, and took up their quarters in the villages on the opposite side.

From Strathbogie, General Bland sent forward a detachment of seventy Campbells, and thirty of Kingston's horse, to occupy Keith, but they were not allowed to hold this post long. Major Glasgow, an Irish officer in the service of France, having offered to the prince to carry it with a detachment of two hundred men, he was allowed to attempt the enterprise, and succeeded, the village having been invested on all sides before the enemy was aware of the attempt. On this occasion they became the victims of a little stratagem. After recrossing the Spey, Lord John Drummond sent a body of horse and foot across every morning. The foot remained generally all day at Fochabers, and the horse patrolled on the road between that village and Keith. On the twentieth of March, a small party of Bland's light horse having appeared on the top of the hill that overlooks Fochabers, the party occupying the village, apparently alarmed, left it in a hurry, much earlier than usual, and repassed the river. The design in thus repairing across the river before the usual time was to throw the party at Keith off their guard, and who, fancying themselves secure, took no precautions against surprise. After it had grown quite dark, Glasgow crossed the Spey with his detachment, consisting of two hundred foot and forty horse, and marching direct to Keith, arrived there unperceived about one o'clock in the morning. The Campbells, who were quartered in the church, formed in the churchyard, and a smart fire was kept up for some time between them and their assailants; but upon being promised quarter, if they submitted, they laid down their arms. Of the whole party, including the horse, not above five or six escaped. Captain

Campbell, who commanded the detachment, a non-commissioned officer, and five privates were killed. Glasgow had twelve of his men killed or wounded.

The advantages obtained by the insurgents in their expeditions into Athole and Sutherland, and by the reduction of Fort Augustus, were in some degree balanced by the loss of the *Prince Charles* formerly the *Hazard* sloop of war, and the capture of some treasure and warlike stores which she had brought from France for the use of Charles's army; and by the abandonment of the siege of Fort William.

Early in November the *Hazard*, a vessel mounting sixteen guns and some swivels, with a crew of eighty men, had anchored at Ferriden, opposite Montrose. The object of her commander, in taking this station, was to prevent the insurgents from taking possession of the town. At this time a party of Lord Ogilvy's men, under the command of Captain David Ferrier, held Brechin, of which Ferrier had been appointed deputy-governor by the prince before his march into England; and to hinder the approach of this party towards Montrose, a fire was kept up at intervals for three days and nights from the *Hazard*, the only effect of which was to annoy the inhabitants exceedingly. To put an end to such a state of matters, Ferrier formed the design of capturing the vessel by raising a battery at the entrance of the river, and thereby to prevent her getting out to sea. In pursuance of this plan he entered Montrose one night, and possessed himself of the island on the south side of the town, opposite to where the *Hazard* lay. Next day the *Hazard* attempted to dislodge the party from the isle by her fire, but without success. In the afternoon of the following day a vessel carrying French colours was observed at sea, standing in towards the river, which turned out to be a transport from

France, with a party of Lord John Drummond's regiment, some Irish piquets, and six pieces of artillery. On observing this vessel, the *Hazard* fired a gun to leeward as a decoy; but, upon a signal from the party on the island, the commander of the French vessel ran her on shore out of reach of the *Hazard's* guns. The crew then landed the six guns, and a fire was opened from them upon the *Hazard* next morning from both sides of the river, on each of which three of the pieces had been planted. With the exception, however, of having some of her rigging cut, she sustained no damage. Before the arrival of Ferrier's party, Captain Hill, the commander of the *Hazard*, had taken four six-pounders, and two four-pounders, belonging to the town, which he had put on board a vessel in the harbour; but, by oversight, he left this vessel at the quay, and the consequence was, that she fell into the hands of the insurgents. This circumstance was fatal to the *Hazard*, for, finding that the guns lately landed were not sufficient to force the *Hazard* to surrender, Captain Ferrier carried the four six-pounders to the Dial hill, from which he fired upon the *Hazard;* and her commander, seeing escape hopeless, after hoisting a flag of truce, and making an ineffectual attempt for permission to leave the river, surrendered.

This vessel, being a first-rate sailer, was a great acquisition to the insurgents, and had made several trips to France. On the present occasion the *Prince Charles*, as the *Hazard* was now named by the Highlanders, was returning from France, having on board several officers and some privates, a supply of arms and ammunition, and a quantity of gold coin, amounting to between twelve and thirteen thousand pounds sterling. She was observed, on the twenty-fourth of March, off the Banffshire coast, by the *Sheerness* man-of-war,

which immediately gave her chase. The *Prince Charles*, taking a northwest course, endeavoured to escape by entering the Pentland Frith; but the *Sheerness* followed her into that dangerous gulf, and after a running fight, in which the *Prince Charles* is said to have lost thirty-six men, the latter ran ashore on the sands of Melness, on the west side of Tongue Bay, near the house of Lord Reay, on the twenty-fifth of March. The officers, soldiers, and crew immediately landed with the treasure, which was contained in small boxes, and carried it to the house of William Mackay of Melness, where it remained during the night. The dispersion of Lord Loudon's forces, an event which was considered at the time highly favourable to the interests of Charles in the north, turned out, in the present instance, to be very prejudicial. Part of them, as has been stated, had, upon their dispersion, retired into that wild and barren region called Lord Reay's country; and when the *Prince Charles* arrived in Tongue Bay, there was a party of these troops quartered in the neighbourhood. On receiving notice of the landing, Lord Reay sent some persons in a boat across the bay, to ascertain the strength of the party who had disembarked; and, on being informed that it was not numerous, it was concerted between him and some of Lord Loudon's officers, to attack the party next morning with such forces as they could collect. Early next morning the French, conducted by George Mackay, younger of Melness, who had undertaken to lead them to Inverness, left Melness; but they had not proceeded far, when they were attacked, two hours after daybreak, by a body of men, consisting of fifty of Lord Reay's people headed by his lordship's steward and a similar number of Lord Loudon's troops. After a short resistance, during which four or six of their men were killed and as many wounded, the whole party, consisting of

twenty officers and 120 soldiers and sailors, surrendered.

As Charles's coffers were almost exhausted at this time, the loss of such a large sum of money pressed with peculiar severity upon the army, which he had, in consequence, great difficulty in keeping together. Though sparing in his troops, the King of France had not been remiss in sending Charles pecuniary supplies, nor had the King of Spain been unmindful of him; but the remittances sent by these sovereigns did not all reach their destination, some of them having been intercepted by British cruisers on their way. Reckoning, however, the sums drawn and received from various sources, Charles must have got no inconsiderable sum; but he appears to have paid little attention to his pecuniary concerns, and a system of peculation is said to have been practised by the persons entrusted with their management, which told heavily upon his means. His principal steward in particular, to whom the administration of the finances was committed, is alleged not to have been scrupulously honest, and he is said to have contrived matters so as to prevent open detection. His underlings did not omit the opportunity when occasion offered of filling their pockets. A system of imposition was also practised by means of false musters. Under such circumstances the early exhaustion of Charles's military chest is not to be wondered at. In this situation, seeing the impossibility of recruiting his finances at Inverness, he had resolved to return to the south country; but other circumstances induced him to forego his intention.

Judging from the unfortunate result of the siege of Stirling castle, neither Lord George Murray nor Brigadier Stapleton had any hopes of reducing Fort William, which, besides being a strong place, was regularly fortified; but as Lochiel, Keppoch, and other chiefs, whose

properties lay in its neighbourhood, were very desirous to obtain possession of a fortress which perpetually annoyed them, and the garrison of which had, during the prince's expedition into England, made frequent sallies, and burnt the houses of the country people, and carried off their cattle, they did not object to the siege.

To assist the troops under Stapleton, the Camerons and the Macdonalds of Keppoch were ordered to Fort William. Mr. Grant, the engineer, proposed to begin the siege by erecting a battery on a small hill, called the Sugar-loaf, which overlooked the fortress about eight hundred yards off; and, as he observed that one of the bastions projected so far as it could not be defended by the fire of the first, he proposed to arrive at it by a trench and blow it up; but, while in the act of reconnoitring, he received a violent contusion from a cannon-ball, which completely disabled him. Brigadier Stapleton, having no other engineer, was obliged to send to Inverness for M. Mirabelle, the singular personage formerly alluded to. Meanwhile, the besieged heightened the parapets on the walls on the side where they dreaded an attack, and raised the two faces of the bastions seven feet high.

For several days a skirmishing was kept up between the garrison and two sloops of war stationed in the river, on the one side, and the besiegers on the other, with varied success; but the insurgents, having completed a battery on the Sugar-loaf on the twentieth of March, opened the siege that evening. From its distance from the fortress, and the smallness of the cannon, which consisted of six and four-pounders only, little execution was done. Next day the besiegers erected a new battery at the foot of the Cow hill, within half the distance of the other, which was also opened, but with little better

effect. On the twenty-second, Brigadier Stapleton sent a drummer to Captain Scott, the commanding officer, with a letter, requiring him to surrender, but his answer was, that he would defend the place to the last extremity. The bombardment was thereupon renewed on both sides for some hours, but at last the garrison silenced the besiegers by beating down their principal battery. The besiegers then erected a third battery, and the bombardment continued, with little intermission, till the thirty-first, when the garrison made a sally, forced one of the batteries erected upon a place called the Craigs, about a hundred yards from the walls, and captured several pieces of cannon and two mortars. Notwithstanding this disaster, they continued to annoy the besieged from five cannon which they had still mounted, but with no other damage to the garrison than the destruction of the roofs of most of the houses. At length, on the third of April, Brigadier Stapleton, in consequence of instructions he had received from the prince to join him immediately, raised the siege, and, after spiking his heavy cannon, marched for Inverness with the piquets, taking his field pieces along with him. He left the Highlanders behind, on the understanding that they were to follow him with as little delay as possible. The loss sustained on either side was trifling.

Abounding as the prince's enterprise did, in many brilliant points, there is, unquestionably, no part of it more deserving of admiration than that which now presents itself, near the end of his short, but very eventful career. At Gladsmuir and at Falkirk, almost the whole of the prince's energies were directed to a single point, but at Inverness he projected a number of expeditions, attacks, and sieges, and conducted them with an energy and promptitude which astonished the government. The whole force he was able to col-

lect, after his retreat to the north, did not exceed eight thousand men; and, although there was no certainty that the Duke of Cumberland might not advance immediately from Aberdeen, which is only a hundred miles from Inverness, yet he separated his forces, and, while with one detachment he kept General Bland in check, he almost at the same time carried on a series of operations with the isolated parts of his army in the distant territories of Athole, Lochaber, and Sutherland.

END OF VOLUME V.

NOTES

1. He was styled Duke of Athole by the Jacobites, from being the eldest son of the preceding duke. The marquis had been attainted for the share he took in the insurrection of 1715; and the title and estates were, in consequence of his attainder, now enjoyed by his immediate younger brother.

2. Charles is said to have taken particular care of Sir Thomas Sheridan on this occasion. He "went to examine his bed, and to see that the sheets were well aired. The landlord, observing him to search the bed so narrowly, and at the same time hearing him declare he would sit up all night, called out to him, and said, that it was so good a bed, and the sheets were so good, that a prince needed not be ashamed to lie on them. The prince, not being accustomed to such fires in the middle of the room, and there being no other chimney than a hole in the roof, was almost choked, and was obliged to go often to the door for fresh air. This at last made the landlord, Angus Macdonald, call out, 'What a plague is the matter with that fellow, that he can neither sit nor stand still, and neither keep within nor without doors?'" — *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 11.

3. It is certain that Kinlochmoidart was not present. He is not even alluded to by the author of the Journal and Memoirs, one of the persons who accompanied young Clanranald on board. Kinlochmoidart, having agreed to join the Prince, had been despatched the previous evening with letters to Lochiel and others (Kirkconnel MS.). The fact of Kinlochmoidart being "the first who joined the royal cause in 1745," is mentioned in an account of the family of Kinlochmoidart, among the Stuart Papers, drawn up by his brother John, and transmitted by his other brother, Æneas, to Rome, to be laid before the Chevalier de St. George.

4. "It is no less certain, though not so generally known, that Lochiel left his own house, determined (as he thought) not to take arms. In his way to Borodale he called at the house of his brother, John Cameron of Fassefern, who came out immediately, and asked

what was the matter that had brought him there at so early an hour? Lochiel told him that the Prince was landed at Borodale, and had sent for him. Fassefern asked what troops the Prince had brought with him? what money? what arms? Lochiel answered, that he believed that the Prince had brought with him neither troops, nor money, nor arms; and, therefore, he was resolved not to be concerned in the affair, and would do his utmost to prevent Charles from making a rash attempt. Fassefern approved his brother's sentiments, and applauded his resolution; advising him, at the same time, not to go any farther on his way to Borodale, but to come into the house, and impart his mind to the Prince by letter. 'No,' said Lochiel, 'I ought at least to wait upon him, and give my reasons for declining to join him, which admit of no reply.' — 'Brother,' said Fassefern, 'I know you better than you know yourself. If this Prince once sets his eyes upon you he will make you do whatever he pleases.' Fassefern, in the year 1781, repeated the conversation beween him and his brother to the author of this history." — *Home's Works*, vol. iii. Note, p. 7.

5. The following tribute to the memory of Lochiel, who died in 1748, appeared in the *Scots Magazine* of that year.

ON THE DEATH OF LOCHIEL

Dead is Lochiel, the terror of whose arms
So lately shook this island with alarms!
Be just, ye Whigs; and tho' the Tories mourn,
Lament a *Scotsman* in a foreign urn;
Who, born a chieftain, thought the right of birth
The source of all authority on earth.
Mistaken as he was, the man was just,
Firm to his word, and faithful to his trust;
He bade not others go, himself to stay,
As is the pretty, prudent, modern way;
But, like a warrior, bravely drew the sword,
And rear'd his target for his native lord.
Humane he was, protected countries tell;
So rude an host was never rul'd so well.
Fatal to him, and to the cause he lov'd,
Was the rash tumult which his folly mov'd;
Compell'd for that to seek a foreign shore,
And ne'er beheld his mother country more!
Compell'd, by hard necessity, to bear,
In *Gallia's* bands, a mercenary spear!

But heav'n, in pity to his honest heart,
Resolv'd to snatch him from so poor a part.
To cure at once his spirit and his mind,
With exile wretched, and with error blind,
The mighty mandate unto death was given,
And good LOCHIEL is now a Whig in heaven.

6. Mr. Home is evidently mistaken in saying "that young Clanranald undertook to go to the isle of Skye, and inform Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of the rendezvous, and solicit them to join." Clanranald had returned from Skye before the resolution to meet at Glenfinnin had been adopted, and it does not appear that Clanranald went a second time to Skye.

7. As an inducement to favour his restoration, the Chevalier de St. George promised to ennoble a considerable number of his friends. Patents of nobility were accordingly made out and signed in favour of all the Jacobite chiefs and other leading supporters of the cause.

8. There were three foot regiments, viz., Guise's, the 6th, stationed at Aberdeen; Murray's, the 46th, scattered among the garrisons in the Highlands; and Lascelle's, the 47th, at Edinburgh. Also two companies of the Scots Royals (which surrendered to Keppoch's Highlanders); two of Lord Sempil's regiment stationed at Cupar-in-Fife; two of the Scots Fusileers at Glasgow; three of Lord John Murray's regiment at Crieff; five of Lee's regiment, the 44th, in the west of Scotland (the remaining five being in Berwick); besides several companies, almost complete, of Lord Loudon's Highland regiment. Besides these there were two regiments of dragoons, those of Gardiner and Hamilton.

9. The prince thus relates the circumstances attending this affair in a letter to his father, dated from Perth, 10th September, 1745. "There is one thing, and but one, in which I had any difference with my faithful Highlanders. It was about the price upon my kinsman's head, which, knowing your Majesty's generous humanity, I am sure, will shock you, as it did me, when I was shown the proclamation, setting a price upon my head. I smiled, and treated it with the disdain I thought it deserved; upon which they flew into a violent rage, and insisted upon my doing the same by him. As this flowed solely from the poor men's love and concern for me, I did not know how to be angry with them for it, and tried to bring them to temper by representing that it was a mean barbarous principle among princes, and must dishonour them in the eyes of all men of honour; that I did not see how my cousin's having set me the example, would

justify me in imitating that which I blame so much in him. But nothing I could say would pacify them. Some went even so far as to say, — 'Shall we venture our lives for a man who seems so indifferent of his own?' Thus have I been drawn in to do a thing for which I condemn myself." — *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 32.

10. Lord George Murray's Narrative, Jacobite Memoirs, p. 29. Some idea may be formed of the lieutenant-general's activity, from the following extract from a letter written on 7th September, by him to his brother the marquis, who was then busily employed raising the men on his brother's estates. "I hope the meal was with you this day — 35 bolls — for it was at Inwar last night: It shall be my study to have more meal with you on Monday night, for you must distribute a peck a man; and, cost what it will, there must be pocks (small sacks) made to each man, to contain a peck or two for the men, to have always with them. Buy linen, harn, or anything; for these pocks are of absolute necessity, nothing can be done without them. . . . You may please tell your own people that there is a project to get arms for them." — *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 31.

11. It has been stated on the questionable authority of a local tradition, that when Charles arrived in front of the palace, a large bullet was fired from the castle, with such direction and force as to make it descend upon the palace, — that it struck a part of the front wall of James the Fifth's tower, near the window which lights a small turret-chamber connected with Queen Mary's state apartments; and that it fell into the courtyard, carrying along with it a quantity of rubbish which it had knocked out of the wall. If such a remarkable incident had occurred, it could scarcely have been overlooked by Mr. Home, who was near the spot at the time; and the fact that it is not alluded to in the pages of the *Caledonian Mercury*, the organ of the Jacobite party, seems conclusive that no such occurrence took place.

12. The accounts given by Home and the Chevalier Johnstone differ in some respects from that of Lord George Murray. Home says, that Mr. Robert Anderson (son of Anderson of Whitbrough in East Lothian, who had been engaged in the Rebellion of 1715) had confirmed Ker of Gradon's account of the ground after his survey, on being consulted by Lord George Murray; that he was present at the council of war, but did not give any opinion; but that after Charles and his officers had separated, Anderson told Hepburn of Keith that he knew the ground perfectly, and was certain there was a better way to come at the king's army than that which the

council had resolved to follow; that he would undertake to show them a place where they might easily pass the morass without being seen by the enemy, and without being exposed to their fire; that Hepburn listened attentively to this information, and expressed his opinion of it in such terms that Anderson desired he would carry him to Lord George Murray; that Hepburn advised him to go himself to Lord George, who knew him, and would like better to receive information from him alone than when introduced by another person; that when Anderson came to Lord George Murray he found him asleep in a field of cut pease with several of the chiefs near him; that on awakening his lordship, he repeated what he had said to Mr. Hepburn, and offered to lead the men through the morass; that Lord George considering this information important, awoke Charles, who was lying near him with a sheaf of pease for his pillow, and who, pleased with Anderson's information, ordered Lochiel and the other chiefs to be called, all of whom approved of the plan of attack. The Chevalier Johnstone says that the officers of the army were perplexed how to act, from the apparent impossibility of making a successful attack, but that Anderson came to the Prince in the evening very apropos, and relieved them from their embarrassment by informing them that there was a place in the marsh which could be crossed with safety, and that upon examining it Anderson's information was found to be correct. Lord George's own account appears, however, to give the real *res gestæ*. From it he appears to have communicated with Anderson and Hepburn before the council of war had assembled. As his lordship says that "at midnight the principal officers were called again," it is probable he alludes to the scene described by Home, when the Prince himself and the chiefs were awakened by Anderson; but as Anderson was present in the council, and as Lord George says that after this midnight call "all was ordered as was at first proposed," it is very likely that Anderson was anxious to afford some additional information which he had formerly omitted to give.

13. Old General Wightman, who commanded the centre of the Royalist army at the battle of Sheriffmuir, was present at this battle as a spectator. Mounted on his "old cropt galloway," he posted himself by break of day about a musket shot in the rear of Hamilton's dragoons, and had not taken his ground above three minutes when "the scuffle" began. He says it lasted about four minutes. After "all was in route," Wightman remained in his station, "calm and fearless," according to his own account, till he saw all the dragoons out of the field, and the foot surrounded on all sides.

Ex-provost Drummond, "who," says Wightman, "would needs fight among the dragoons," was also present, mounted on an old dragoon horse, which one Mathie had purchased for £4, and had used as a cart horse. Not being able to reach Gardiner's dragoons before the battle began, Drummond joined the squadrons under Hamilton; but "to his great luck," and to the "great comfort," of his friend Wightman, he was swept away out of the field by the cowardly dragoons, and accompanied Cope to Berwick. — *Culloden Papers*, p. 224.

14. Report of Cope's examination. The story told by the Chevalier Johnstone, of Cope's having effected his escape through the midst of the Highlanders by mounting a white cockade, seems improbable, as Cope does not appear to have been in a situation to have rendered such a step necessary. If any officer made his escape in the way described, it is likely Colonel Lascelles was the man. He fell into the hands of the Highlanders; but in the hurry they were in, contrived to make his escape eastward, and arrived safe at Berwick. Amid the confusion which prevailed, he might easily have snatched a cockade from a dead or wounded Highlander, or procured one for a sum of money.

15. The name by which the houses of the parish ministers of Scotland are distinguished.

16. Lord George Murray says that, when traversing the field of battle in the afternoon, he observed that some of Cope's men "who were the worst wounded had not been carried to houses to be dressed; and though there were several of the country people of that neighbourhood looking at them, I could not prevail with them to carry them to houses, but got some of our people to do it." — *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 42.

17. All the wounded privates of both armies were carried to the different villages adjoining the field of battle. Those of Cope's officers who were dangerously wounded were lodged in Colonel Gardiner's house, where surgeons attended them. In the evening, the remainder (who had given their parole), accompanied by Lord George Murray, went to Musselburgh, where a house had been provided for their reception. Some of them walked, but others, who were unable to do so, had horses provided for them by his lordship. The house into which they were put was newly finished, and had neither table, bed, chair, nor grate in it. Lord George caused some new thrashed straw to be purchased for beds, and the officers on their arrival partook of a tolerable meal of cold provisions and some liquor, which his lordship had carried along with him. When about

to retire, the officers entreated him not to leave them, as being without a guard, they were afraid that some of the Highlanders, who were in liquor, might come in and insult or plunder them. Lord George consented, and lay on a floor by them all night. Some of the officers, who were valetudinary, slept that night in the house of the minister. Next day, after the departure of the Prince for Edinburgh, the officers had quarters provided for them in Pinkiehouse. The other prisoners, privates, were quartered in Musselburgh and the gardens of Pinkie for two nights, and were afterward removed, along with the officers, to Edinburgh. The latter were confined for a few days in Queensberry house, when they were released on parole, and allowed to reside in the city, on condition that they should hold no communication with the castle. The privates were confined in the church and jail of the Canongate. Such of the wounded as could be removed were put into the Royal Infirmary, where great care was taken of them. One of the officers having broken his parole by going into the castle, the others were sent to Perth. The privates were removed to Logierate in Athole; and the wounded were dismissed as they recovered, on taking an oath that they should not carry arms against the Prince before the first of January, 1747. — *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 42. *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 451. *Caledonian Mercury*.

18. The following is a list of the officers of eighteen of the independent companies, being the whole number raised, with the dates of the delivery of their commissions on the completion of their companies, and of their arrival at Inverness:

Captains	*Lieutenants*	*Ensigns*	*Dates of completing the companies, and of their arrival at Inverness*
1 George Monro	Adam Gordon	Hugh Monro	1745, Oct. 23
2 Alexander Gun	John Gordon	Kenneth Sutherland	— — 25
3 Patrick Grant	William Grant	James Grant	— Nov. 3
4 George Mackay	John Mackay	James Mackay	— — 4
5 Peter Sutherland	William Mackay	John Mackay	— — 8
6 John Macleod	Alexander Macleod	John Macaskill	— — 15
7 Normand Macleod of Waterstein	Donald Macleod	John Macleod	— — —
8 Normand Macleod of Bernera	John Campbell	John Macleod	— — —
9 Donald Macdonald	William Macleod	Donald Macleod	— — —
10 William Mackintosh	Kenneth Mathison	William Baillie	— — 18
11 Hugh Macleod	George Monro	Roderick Macleod	— — 28
12 Alexander Mackenzie	John Mathison	Simon Murchison	— Dec. 20
13 Colin Mackenzie of Hilton	Alexander Campbell	John Macrae	— — —
14 James Macdonald	Allan Macdonald	James Macdonald	— — 31
15 John Macdonald	Allan Macdonald	Donald Macdonald	— — —
16 Hugh Mackay	John Mackay	Angus Mackay	1746, Jan. 6
17 William Ross	Charles Ross	David Ross	— — 8
18 Colin Mackenzie	Donald Mackaulay	Kenneth Mackenzie	— Feb. 2

— *Culloden Papers.*

1 The Monros.
2 and 5 The Earl of Sutherland's men.
3 The Grants.
4 and 16 The Mackays.
6, 7, 8, and 9 The Macleods, under the laird of Macleod.
10 A company raised in the town of Inverness.
11 The Macleods of Assint, raised by Captain Macleod of Geanies.
12 and 13 The Mackenzies of Kintail.
14 and 15 The Macdonalds of Skye.
17 The Rosses.
18 The Mackenzies of Lewis.

19. A venerable and highly estimable representative of one of the most respectable Jacobite families in the kingdom, in a recent conversation, assured the writer that this view of the question had cured him of Jacobitism.

20. The Highland army about the middle of November, according to a list then published, was thus composed:

Regiments	*Colonels*	*Men*
Lochiel	Cameron, younger of Lochiel	740
Appin	Stewart of Ardshiel	360
Athole	Lord George Murray	1000
Clanranald	Macdonald, younger of Clanranald	200
Keppoch	Macdonald of Keppoch	400
Glenco	Macdonald of Glencoe	200
Ogilvy	Lord Ogilvy	500
Glenbucket	Gordon of Glenbucket	427
Perth	Duke of Perth (including Pitsligo's foot)	750
Robertson	Robertson of Strowan	200
Maclauchlan	Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan	260
Glencairnock	Macgregor of Glencairnock	300
Nairne	Lord Nairne	200
Edinburgh	John Roy Stewart	450
Several small corps		1000
Horse	Lord Elcho / Lord Kilmarnock	160
Horse	Lord Pitsligo's	140
The numbers, however, are overrated.		7,587

21. The Chevalier Johnstone says it did not exceed 4,500; and Maxwell of Kirkconnel, that it amounted to 4,400.

22. So called, to distinguish them from the clan regiments, though the greater part were Highlanders, and wore the Highland garb, which was indeed the dress of the whole army.

23. Charles, during his stay at Carlisle, lived in the house of a Mr. Hymer, an attorney, to whom he paid twenty guineas, being five guineas *per diem*, for the use of his house, as noted in the Prince's household book, recently published in the "Jacobite Memoirs." James Gib, his master of household, appears to have grudged Charles's liberality, as he observes that Hymer furnished nothing, not even coal or candle; and, moreover, that he and his wife had every day two dishes of meat at dinner, and as many at supper, at the cost of the Prince. But Charles's liberality was not confined to landlords, for Gib states that whenever he happened to pass even a night in a gentleman's house, his ordinary custom was to give at least five guineas of "drink-money" to the servants.

24. See a copy of this treaty in the "Stuart Papers," as well as the requisition by Colonel O'Bryen on which it proceeded.

25. See these instructions in the "Stuart Papers," with an order from the King of France to the troops destined for the expedition.

26. Before embarking, Lord John addressed the following letter to the Chevalier de St. George: —

"DUNKERQUE, 13th Nov., 1745.

"SIR: — I send to your Majesty, here inclosed, a copy of the orders and instructions I have got from the King of France, and tho' the number of troopes is not considerable, at least we have obteant a positive and open declaration of ther intentions. Mr. O'brien has, I suppose, given your Majesty a full account how this negotiation went one.

"I embark to-day for Scotland at the head, I may say, of about a thousand men that ar full of zeal and desire of shedding the last drop of their blood in contributing to your Majesty's restoration. I will add nothing more, but that I am inflamed with the very same desire, and am with the most profound respect,

"Sir,

"Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant and subject,

"J. DRUMMOND."

The foregoing letter was enclosed in another, of which the following is a copy, to Mr. Edgar, the Chevalier's private secretary: —

"DUNKERQUE, 13th Nov., 1745.

"SIR: — I send you here inclosed a letter, you will be pleased to remit to his Majesty. I am so full of joy at going this moment on board that in the next land we come to, we will be fighting for our king and country, that I will say nothing, but will do my endeavours that we may express in a stronger manner than by words.

"I will write to you as often as I can find proper oportunitys, who am with great value and esteem, etc.

"J. DRUMMOND.

"I hope you will have obtained for me a commission of major-general, which may send to Mr. O'bryen for me."

—*From the originals among the Stuart Papers, in the possession of his Majesty.*

27. Maxwell of Kirkconnel gives a different version of this matter from that of Lord George Murray. After stating that his lordship represented to Charles the dangerous situation he might be in if the united armies of Wade and Cumberland overtook him before reaching Carlisle, he says that Lord George "proposed to avoid them by sacrificing the cannon and all the heavy baggage to the safety of the men, which was now at stake. He observed that the country is mountainous betwixt Kendal and Penrith, and the roads, in many places, very difficult for such carriages; but the prince was positive not to leave a single piece of his cannon. He would rather fight both their armies than give such an argument of fear and weakness. He gave peremptory orders that the march should be continued in the same order as hitherto, and not a single carriage to be left at Kendal."

28. In the Prince's "Household Book," printed among the Jacobite Memoirs, the following entries occur: —

Dec. 17th, At Shape, Tuesday

To ale, wine, and other provisions	£4 17.
The landlady for the use of her house	2 2.

N.B. The landlady a sad wife for imposing.

29. Alluding to the retention of Carlisle, Mr. Maxwell observes: "This was perhaps the worst resolution the Prince had taken hitherto. I cannot help condemning it, though there were specious pretexts for it. It was, to be sure, much for the Prince's reputation upon leaving England, to keep one of the keys of it, and he was in hopes of returning before it could be taken; but he could not be absolutely

sure of that, and the place was not tenable against a few pieces of artillery, of battering cannon, or a few mortars. It's true he had a good many prisoners in Scotland, and might look upon them as pledges for the lives of those he left in garrison; but that was not enough. He did not know what kind of people he had to deal with, and he ought to be prepared against the worst that could happen. The lives of so many of his friends ought not to have been exposed without an indispensable necessity, which was not the case; for blowing up the castle, and the gates of the town, would have equally given him an entry into England."

30. "The terror of the English," says the Chevalier Johnstone, Memoirs, p. 101, "was truly inconceivable, and in many cases they seemed quite bereft of their senses. One evening, as Mr. Cameron of Lochiel entered the lodgings assigned to him, his landlady, an old woman, threw herself at his feet, and, with uplifted hands and tears in her eyes, supplicated him to take her life, but to spare her two little children. He asked her if she was in her senses, and told her to explain herself; when she answered, that everybody said the Highlanders ate children, and made them their common food. Mr. Cameron having assured her that they would not injure either her or her little children, or any person whatever, she looked at him for some moments with an air of surprise, and then opened a press, calling out with a loud voice, 'Come out, children; the gentleman will not eat you.' The children immediately left the press where she had concealed them, and threw themselves at his feet. They affirmed in the newspapers of London that we had dogs in our army trained to fight, and that we were indebted for our victory at Gladsmuir to these dogs, who darted with fury on the English army. They represented the Highlanders as monsters, with claws instead of hands. In a word, they never ceased to circulate, every day, the most extravagant and ridiculous stories with respect to the Highlanders. The English soldiers had indeed reason to look upon us as extraordinary men, from the manner in which we had beaten them with such inferior numbers, and they probably told these idle stories to the country people by way of palliating their own disgrace." The able editor of Johnstone's Memoirs relates in a note to the above, that the late Mr. Halkston of Rathillet, who was in the expedition, stated that the belief was general among the people of England that the Highlanders ate children: "While the army lay at Carlisle he was taken ill, and went with a few of his companions to a farmer's house in the neighbourhood, where he remained several days. Perceiving his landlady to be a young woman, he asked her

if she had any children, and where they were. When she found that he was no cannibal, she told him the truth was, that all the children were sent out of the way for fear the Highlanders should devour them."

A Derby gentleman, who had a party of forty men quartered in his house, in a letter which appeared in all the newspapers of the period, describes most of them as looking "like so many fiends turned out of hell to ravage the kingdom and cut throats; and under their plaids nothing but various sorts of butchering weapons were to be seen." He complains that they had eaten up "near a side of beef, eight joints of mutton, four cheeses, with abundance of white and brown bread (particularly white), three couples of fowls, and would have drams continually, as well as strong ale, beer, tea, etc." In the midst of this general devastation our host was convulsed with "unavoidable laughter to see these desperadoes, from officers to the common men, at their several meals, first pull off their bonnets, and then lift up their eyes in a most solemn manner, and mutter something to themselves, by way of saying grace, as if they had been so many pure primitive Christians!" This is merely a specimen of the many ridiculous stories with which the English journals of the period were crammed.

31. General Hawley, alluding to this affair, in a letter to the lord-president, 12th Jan. 1745–6, says: "We have had a small brush with them (the Highlanders) yesterday at Airth, up the Forth with three hundred men in boats; killed and wounded about fifty, with their chief French engineer; crippled two of their guns, burnt all their boats, and hindered their transporting their great cannon from Alloway for some days." — *Culloden Papers*, p. 266.

32. There was another battalion of the Farquharsons under Farquharson of Monaltry, which, having the charge of the cannon belonging to the insurgent army, was not in the battle.

33. Some accounts make Hawley's forces of all descriptions at fifteen thousand, being nearly double the numbers of the Highlanders, who amounted to eight thousand; but these statements are exaggerated. Hawley's army, including the Argyleshire men, did not probably exceed ten thousand men.

34. Mr. Home, who was in the engagement, states that Hawley had about three hundred or four hundred private men killed. Maxwell of Kirkconnel, who was also present, reckons his loss at between four and five hundred killed, and some hundreds of prisoners. The Chevalier Johnstone makes six hundred men killed, and seven hundred prisoners. Such, also, is the estimate of the authors

of the "Journal and Memoirs" printed among the Lockhart Papers.

35. Note in the Prince's "Household Book" in Jacobite Memoirs, p. 158. The above, which is a correct version of the story, is at variance with that usually told of the major, who is said to have fallen a victim to his desire to obtain possession of a fine horse, which is said to have run off with him to the enemy.

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